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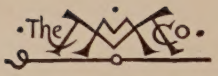
# A SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN ART

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# A SHORT HISTORY OF ITALIAN ART

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by

Adolfo Venturi

Translated by

EDWARD HUTTON

*With 300 Illustrations*

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# I

# THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN ART

The art which grew up, a true daughter of Rome, in classical elegance in the palaces, the temples, the basilicas and the baths, when it descended underground into the cemeteries, those refuges of the followers of Christ, put on humble garments. It was still, indeed, the same art that had adorned the Roman world with marbles and bronzes and a whole population of statues; but in the obscure galleries of the Catacombs, in the darkness of the *cubiculi*, among the funeral lamps, it spoke, as it were, *sotto voce*, as though fearful of interrupting the silence of prayer. The wild Bacchic subjects that were so often carved on tombs in honour of the God who drowns all cares were now abandoned; the representation of the Loves was purified; and art entered the service of the Christians. Where they buried the bodies of the martyrs a sign or a symbol sufficed, the outline of a figure, a *graffito*, a dove, or the salutation — *in pace*. Later, as the number of the faithful increased, art became bolder, draped Christian figures in its classical peplum already too strait for it, and traced the legends, the mysteries of the new religion on the sarcophagi in intricate pictorial decoration. And when Christianity at last came to prevail in the civilisation of the Roman Empire, and Constantine sealed its triumph while enlarging in appearance the liberty of all creeds, Christian art became just art in general.

So Christian buildings began to be built above ground and a common style was sought in Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, so as in them to give a common expression to the new religious ideas. Basilicas were built long in form with three or five naves, divided by columns and covered by a simple roof of wood. But others, especially in the eastern parts of the Empire, were built, too, of circular or concentric form and vaulted.

This double type of basilica, corresponding to previous pagan buildings, fulfilled the very practical aim of accommodating a great number of worshippers. In the circular style,

the buildings in which were always small on account of the difficulty of constructing the vault and the cupola, there is an endeavour to obtain freer and more varied light effects.

Light, indeed, seems almost to have intoxicated the early Christians. The martyrs had dreamed of places flooded with sunlight, of tabernacles shining with precious stones glittering like stars. In the mosaics of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople, one is said to have seen the sun at midday turning all the mountains to gold; and in the inscription in the apse of Sant' Agnese in Rome, we read that the light of day seemed imprisoned in the shimmering mosaic.

So it came about that with the decrease of interest in exact realistic form, the Christians, little by little, put aside the representation of the human figure; and that among all the decorations, the mosaics with a thousand lights, the altars covered with gold and gems, screens picked out with gold and silver, were the means of filling, more and more, the house of God with light.

When from the Roman basilica of the fourth century we pass to the churches of the sixth century at Ravenna, we find nothing really new, only the Roman elements of the fourth century have been carried to their ultimate development. Thus the Ravenna mosaics produce harmonies of colour and effects of light far more ample and perfect than have been achieved before or since; and the sculptures lose all relief and become instead incisions in the stone and even perforations achieving marvellously lovely effects in the capitals of the pillars there and in the screens. Finally, the whole artistic effort finds its highest expression in a concentric building, San Vitale. The system of vaults, more common in the East than in the West, reached, however, its zenith in Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople, during the reign of Justinian, the Emperor, whose effigy we see in mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna. The riot of oriental colours, in which even Pliny had seen a danger for classical Graeco-Roman art, succeeded in the sixth century in producing masterpieces.

When antiquity, the ancient world, came to an end,

Rome, nevertheless, remained the goal of the nations, and the peoples continued to flock along the great roads that led to her, the crown and summit of the world. The Orient, laden with gold and gems, and Rome, with the shadows of Hellenic forms that had assumed on her seven hills a second nature, were both engaged in adorning Christian art, no longer praying among the graves of the martyrs in the Catacombs, but free in the daylight, triumphant in the basilicas. The Oriental and the Graeco-Roman tendencies, towards the end of antiquity, continued to alternate until at last the Asiatic element prevailed. The same currents of life flowed on under changed aspects at Rome, where, until the end of the fourth century, pagan rites were practised in the *myrteum* of the seventh region, and in the first half of the sixth century a church is raised to the "penniless" eastern saints, Cosma and Damiano.

In the Arch of Constantine we see the beginning of Christian art now come forth from the darkness of the *necropoli* and from the portals of chambers dedicated to the Mystery of the Cross, and we can recognise new tendencies that are developing side by side with those of Constantinople.

The spoils of the ancient arches of the Antonines and of Trajan are re-erected in the arch of the conqueror of Maxentius, and they again reflect the great light of Rome, ghosts of a world that has passed away; while the decadence of those parts actually carved to the glory of the divine Constantine shows hardly any true Roman features. The forms are poor and half-lost in the background, the Victories and their surrounding decoration are almost calligraphic with their carved folds, and crumpled robes, floating in Baroque flutterings, childishly translated into marble.

No longer masters of their means nor masters of their instruments, these artists strive in vain with the stubborn stone in an endeavour to reproduce in all its vigour and health the classic grandeur of form. In the reliefs of the history of Constantine, notwithstanding the solemnity of this work sacred to the Emperor, they did not succeed in producing forms differing from those carved on the commonest sarcophagi. As regards the large figures, the ancient

models were helpful in the search for a new means of expression, whilst in the smaller figures, wooden and poor, the artist seems to be searching about for space, now carving them roughly, now twisting them into grotesque contortions. The same discords are found in architecture; the same tendency to disintegrate the solidity of the ancient forms, to gouge the stone, break up cornices and flatten volume. The leaves of capitals are deeply carved, but they no longer have the old thickness; the lifeless arches are narrowed; the heavy corbels in the key of the arches support weak cornices and lose their organic function; the upper frames of the pedestals are heavy and clumsy, and have no connection with other cornices of the triumphal arch, which are finely pierced.

This type of arch marks the end of the ancient and the beginning of mediaeval art. Rome even in her decadence still lived with a universal life, and could bring together many various styles of art. As the organiser and unifier of Christianity, she became the mother of the Church, a city sanctified by the relics of the Apostles and the martyrs. But time, barbarian invasions, even the very citizens themselves, despoiled the ancient monuments, despite their solidity that made Cassiodorus believe them to be firmer than the mountains. Emperors tried in vain to prevent the destruction of the old buildings, despite the strictest laws, that even imposed the penalty of the loss of the transgressors' hands. There was a shortage of new material, marble quarries were idle and iron was very scarce. And so the Arch of Constantine, the Christian basilicas, baptisteries, and mausoleums were constructed at the expense of the ruined classical city.

The art of architecture had declined since the seat of empire had been transferred to Constantinople, and since the Roman prefects were forbidden to construct new buildings owing to the presence of so many deserted old ones. And so the Eternal City that seemed the very Babylon of the Apocalypse to the new Jeremiahs spread shapelessly beyond its bounds owing to the careless decadent population. Nevertheless, for Belisarius she was still a "monu-

ROME. THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

ROME. MAUSOLEUM OF SANTA COSTANZA

ment of the skill of innumerable architects and artists and of all the genius of antiquity."

Columns generally supported a decadent Corinthian capital with narrow volutes and leaves clinging to the capital itself, bored out by the drill so that they have the appearance of sponges or wasps' nests. The bell of the pierced capital was cut in prismatic facets, delicately carved with embroideries of interwoven wickerwork of thorny branches with pointed leaves against a deep background. But, as time went on, the art of carving the branches, the leaves, the plaiting and the briars so that they should stand out from the level was lost, and they remained without character or relief, scooped out of shapeless material. Columns became heavier and more stocky in Constantine's time and they are often turned in a spiral almost in the Baroque style. They do not now have a wide entablature, but the arch springs first directly from capital to capital then from cushions of massive *abaci* or from a high ledge. Personal taste begins to interfere with the strict unity of construction according to the old models of the Dark Ages. Omission of parts once considered essential, and the alteration of their proportions, can be noticed as early as the palace of Diocletian at Spalato. The porch has only an architrave and a cornice without decoration, the cripto-portico also has no frieze and only an indetermined architrave. The entablature that rises boldly to an arch in the porch and in the façade towards the sea, the capitals of the cripto-portico of simple bell and *abacus*, the widely-spaced mouldings without relation to pilasters or other lower structures, all these details reveal an architectural liberty that is to reign in the field of art many centuries later. The capitals have a severe strength typical of twelfth-century northern Italy, the architrave becomes larger at the expense of frieze and cornice, so much so that the frieze becomes a mere moulding and the cornice is on the way to the flat Gothic line. The decoration of little arches in the *porta aurea* is a primitive example of architectural ornament later found in many Romanesque and Gothic buildings. Mouldings have new profiles; zigzag ornaments make their first

ROME. CHURCH OF SANTA COSTANZA.
MOSAICS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

ROME. CHURCH OF SANTA COSTANZA.
MOSAICS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

appearance, and arches spring directly from column to column, as may be seen in the aqueduct of Hadrian at Athens and in a few tombs (perhaps pre-Diocletian) found in the Catacombs. This last feature can also be seen in the Roman baths of Diocletian, if we may judge from Palladio's designs.

In a far distant region, that is to say in Central Syria, Count Vogüé discovered monuments that carry us back in thought to the middle of early Christian society. No longer hidden in the shade of catacombs, but full of rich artistic light, "the crosses, the monograms of Christ, are carved on the doors in relief; numerous inscriptions without proper names may be seen on the monuments, pious phrases, texts from the Scriptures, symbols, dates. There is an accent of victory in all this, but the humility of the individual is revealed in the smallest details." The oldest date was found on a Christian's house in the town of Refadi, the owner of which, having professed his belief in one God, wrote up the year 331. The most recent date is 563.

The centre of the artistic life of the district was Antioch, the capital of Syriac Hellenism. In that city, despite Asiatic influences, the basis of culture remained Greek, and Christianity preserved it and appropriated it. Before Antonio di Tralle and Isidoro di Mileto solved the problem in Sancta Sophia at Constantinople of covering a square space with a dome set on brackets of round segment, the builders of Hauran set stones at the corners of square buildings, reducing the remaining space in this way to an octagon, adding others to form a many-sided figure very nearly a circle. In this manner the base of a cupola was made, and the way was plain for the solution of the problem that, once solved, was to renew architectural forms.

Vogüé has also observed that Theodoric's tomb at Ravenna belongs to the same kind of monument as those at Deir-Seta and Kokanaya. Similarly, constructions with parallel arches joined by stones, such as the Baths of Diana at Nîmes and the Bridge of Narni, are found in several cases at Hauran.

In any case, Western art finds more appropriate elements

ROME. SANTA PUDENZIANA. MOSAIC OF THE APSE

NAPLES. CATHEDRAL. MOSAIC FRAGMENT

for a new style closer to hand in the palace of Spalato, where Diocletian lived his last years and died in 313. There, as Jackson says, the tomb of ancient art was closed and from that tomb a new art was to rise.

With the breaking up of the mass and the loss of organic unity, architecture freely welcomed in Justinian's days those Byzantine forms that had been used in San Vitale at Ravenna at the same time as the building of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople. This octagonal church, with its double presbytery-loggia crowned by a cupola on eight pillars, provided a model for the Palatine chapel built by Eginhart for Charlemagne at Aix, and for the whole of the Middle Ages. Also at Arezzo, in the Romanesque period, they kept the Ravenna models in mind.

All through the fourth century Roman art spread an influence drawn from the traditions of her past that penetrated the lowering clouds hanging over Italy. Even the mausoleum named after Santa Costanza, in which Constantine's two daughters are buried, breathes a pagan atmosphere owing to the typical funereal ornament of Bacchic mysteries now scarcely decipherable in the mosaics of the vault. Bowls, pots and other vessels sacred to Dionysus are depicted all over the vault, birds are seen flying amongst ripe fruits, pergolas are stretched from one side to the other, peasants are seen passing with carts and vats. The cross, the *signum Christi*, Constantine's monogram that was discovered in fragments on the walls, is not introduced amongst the Bacchic symbols, neither is it to be found amongst the baby harvesters and the intertwined ornament of the porphyry Sarcophagus, originally in the mausoleum but now in the Vatican museum.

The mosaic of the apse of Santa Pudenziana, finished at the beginning of the fifth century, is intimately connected with ancient art by its dignity, by its sculptural outline, by its architectural definition of space. The mosaic has for subject an august assembly of apostles dressed as elders, seated within a vast semicircle. The colouring throws into vigorous relief the frowning and severe lineaments of their faces.

Rome. Baptistery of St. John Lateran.
Mosaic of the Apse

Rome. Baptistery of St. John Lateran.
Mosaic of the Vault, Eighth Century

The decoration of San Giovanni in Fonte at Naples, only slightly older than the S. Pudenziana mosaic, is inspired in the same way by Roman influence. The large robust figures, the heavy round heads, the sculptural effect of the imperious profiles are brought out as in relief by the magnificent and severe stripes of colour. In these statuesque forms, in the dense flowery bunches of red flowers, in the cylindrical folds of the wrinkled canopies, in the classically conceived animals, the art of the great Roman portrait-painters lives again. The Apostles, rooted to the ground like statues on pedestals, holding up the heavy folds of their garments, lifting jewelled crowns with noble gestures, are entirely Roman in spirit. Roman, too, is the bust of Saint Luke's angel appearing from a rainbow against a blue cloth sky in which occasional stars are set like buckles. The winged lion of Saint Mark, sparkling with sudden radiance, flames against the dark background. The mosaic worker of San Giovanni in Fonte, like his colleague of S. Pudenziana at Rome, repeats the classical tradition. The same tradition is alive at the time even in Milan, as the mosaics of the chapel of S. Aquilino prove. Amongst the best of these classically inspired mosaics we must mention the superb twists of acanthus that twine in and out on the dark ceiling of the chapel dedicated to the saints, Ruffina and Seconda, in the Lateran baptistery. They form a fine contrast with the thin web of convolvulus that creeps like veins about the blue, unfolding vermilion blossoms like flames or rubies amongst the gold acanthus.

The mosaic decorating the ceiling of the chapel, founded by Pope Hilarius, is made on a wonderful geometrical design reminiscent of Roman pavement-work. Four rectilinear belts of mosaic branch off in a Greek cross from the edge of the gay cornice that frames the lamb with the symbolic garland. Four divisions, delicately lanceolated, diverge from the corners of the square to the corners of the walls, like rays flashing from the sacred lamb. Ample festoons passing beneath the rays connect the arms of the cross to the square, and the open space between cross and belts is decorated with a group of birds facing a laden fruit-dish.

ROME. SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE. MOSAIC

ROME. SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE.
MOSAIC OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

A perfect balance, a faultless classical rhythm in the distribution of the ornamentation, accompanies the composed restraint of colour.

The great fifth-century arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, decorated by Sixtus III to celebrate the victory of the Council of Ephesus over the Nestorian heresy, has the effect of a triumphal hymn raised to the Virgin Mother of God. Little in the design of the arch can vie with that of the nave for classical dignity, architectural spacing, scientific arrangement, and combinations of colour in atmosphere. The robust colourist of the nave designs his heads, breasts and summarily defined garment-folds with a classical vigour; he contrives to give his eyes real visual intensity. In the history of Joshua, for example, where he wants to compose a battle scene, his trophy of warriors, horses and weapons reminds us of the Roman arches.

As in the older mosaic of S. Pudenziana, the apse-mosaic of SS. Cosma and Damiano (sixth century) has very decided Roman characteristics. The design becomes traditional in the apses of the Eternal City: Christ surrounded by triple groups of saints, one of whom presents the patron saints of the church to God. The same scene, however, is conceived differently in the ninth-century apses; in S. Prassede, for example, Christ is almost on the same level with the saints, who are drawn up on each side of Him at measured distances; here, however, they stride forward, introducing a confusion of angular outlines and dishevelled garments; Christ raised on high, absolutely apart from the saints, acquires a royal majesty by his isolation and stands omnipotent against the sky. The sunset tinges with blood the clouds that make a triumphal stairway to God; on high, the last embers of the evening are dying to extinction; around the gold-robed Lord and Master rises a great symphony of notes. In the meantime kindred forms are evolved at Ravenna, then under the full sway of Byzantium. In the lunettes of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna there is a sumptuous Roman colour scheme, a studied effect of distance in the distribution of the mosaic pieces, a grandeur

Rome. Mosaics of SS. Cosma and Damiano, Sixth Century

Rome. Church of S. Agnese fuori le Mura.
Mosaic of the time of Honorius I

of sculptural attitudes. Under the magnificent night sky of the cupola shine wheel on wheel of stars around the triumphal sign of the Cross. In the lunette of San Lorenzo the flame of the pyre is apparently reflected by the surrounding mosaics whose figures, weakened by the rich colouring, remind us of the Roman Catacombs. In the dress of the Good Shepherd there is a softer and more opaque colouring, and in its composed form and balanced distribution of detail the figure is quite classical. Night fills the blue firmament of the cupola with starry splendours, the snow pierces the darkness of the domes with its little geometrical forms and flowers, circlets and stars. The Apostles, in the baptistery of the Orthodox (449–458), have square, massive, classical figures. They are like statues on pedestals, standing within their golden medallions like august Roman orators; the grand gilded acanthus leaves against a blue background also show the Roman influence.

In the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (middle of the sixth century) the figures of the prophets are no longer conceived in the Roman spirit; Byzantine influence is obvious in the charming, indolent lines of the procession of virgins, appropriate to the scattered sparkling points of the colour. A gentle flow of winding surfaces in a soft gold sky takes the place of vigorously chiselled and rectilinear forms. Outlines now waver in charming indecision; colour is volatile and diffuse.

In the apse of S. Vitale we have a metallic golden brilliance and a crude splendour of jewels, quite unlike the starry night of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, and quite unlike the subdued colours of the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo. At the same time the outline of the still, flat figures is rigid and exact. They stand under the many-coloured awnings on carpets made of strips of iridescent enamels within frames of jewelled borders, like idols covered with gold and precious stones. The gorgeous polychromy of Roman art is united with the art that had come from the East with its starry, metallic, phosphorescence, and harmonious sheen of gold, jewels and mother-of-pearl, the more effective in this dusky light.

RAVENNA. MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA

RAVENNA. CHURCH OF S. APPOLLINARE NUOVO, SIXTH CENTURY

At the end of the sixth century, and during the seventh century, Rome herself decorates in the Byzantine style. The church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) or of Sant' Anastasia, the *rotonda* of S. Teodoro are constructed; an oratory is founded in honour of S. Menna by a corporation of Alexandrines; Cilician monks found a colony in a monastery at *Aquas Salvias;* Santa Maria in Cosmedin and a church dedicated to the Greek knight San Giorgio are built in the Greek quarter; the basilica of the Apostoli is raised in imitation of the *Apostoleion* of Constantinople. But even under the Byzantine dominion Rome finds in the Papacy a champion against iconoclasts and Asiatic mysticism, and a protector of images both from the point of view of their value as human symbols and as a lesson-book for the uneducated.

The mosaic of the basilica of Sant' Agnese marks the arrival of Byzantinism at Rome at the beginning of the seventh century. Figures become flatter and longer, and tend to be mere coloured strips in a golden background. Purplish violet, the only note of colour in the garments, harmonises well with the continually recurring gold. This harmony is to be found in Agnese's stole, shining with pearls and sapphires bordered with roses, in the cover of a book of laws, in the walls of the miniature church offered to the martyr. The Byzantine principle of colouring is well illustrated in this simple, sweet-toned mosaic. A golden veil follows the curve of the apse, divided into disks of Greek marble by porphyry bands springing from a broad porphyry belt.

The stiff elegant design of the elongated figures seems to be continued in the long veins of the marble, and the simple harmony of colour is repeated in the two tones of the marble covering, white-grey and red-brown, with white and black ornament in the framework. The capitals do not sit well on the little pilasters at the apse side, they are not made for the purpose, for, like the porphyry slabs, they were taken from an older building; nevertheless, the placing of these broken incomplete fragments is highly artistic.

RAVENNA. S. VITALE. MOSAIC OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

RAVENNA. S. VITALE. MOSAIC OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

The advent of the Greek Pope, John VII, in the eighth century, heralds a sudden fantastic outburst of colour. The mosaic worker of the chapel of the Virgin in the Vatican spreads his precious stones over the walls with royal lavishness; he weaves jewelled designs laced with multicoloured veins, and interrupts their patterns with shining gold. He sets his stones at all possible angles, and thus varies the reflections of his gay splashes of colour; it is a triumph of riotous colour. The Egyptian head-dress of the maid washing the Child in a fragment in the Vatican crypt is bright with coral ribbons; the plump emerald-green cushion in the fragment of the Adoration of the *Magi* in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin is striped with gold and violet; the blue sleeves of the king in the same mosaic are edged with gold; the golden casket that he is offering to the Child rests on a red cloth of marvellous intensity that has the effect of a cascade of rubies against the gilded background; the Virgin's seat is adorned with red and blue flowers. Mosaic stones of various sizes, concave, flat, smooth or rough, so that they reflect light in a thousand different ways, irregularly arranged in circles and squares, in parallel or winding lines, trace designs of prodigious elegance. A fine example of this is to be seen in Mary's graceful hand that reflects a purple light as she touches her violet robes. A myriad flashes sparkle in this immense jewel setting.

In the Carolingian period of the ninth century the struggle between native and foreign influences is interrupted by an attempt to return to the antique. Under the Pontificate of Paschal I the magnificent mosaics in Santa Prassede and in Santa Maria in Domnica, the finest creations of the century, are designed in Rome. The chapel of San Zenone in the former church was destined for the tomb of Teodora *Episcopa*, the Pope's mother. It is remarkable for its door constructed of marbles taken from old buildings and put roughly together with rudely carved side-pieces and low inscribed cornices. At the sides, the arches do not rest on the old columns except at the corners, more in memory of their original purpose than as necessities of construction.

ROME. CHURCH OF SANTA PRASSEDE.
MOSAIC OF THE NINTH CENTURY

ROME. S. M. IN DOMNICA. MOSAICS OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Golden veils, shining with subdued splendour in the shadow, fall in a most admirable manner over the Greek marbles that cover the lower walls. The canopy, stretched over the vault behind the round picture of Christ and white-robed angels, is composed of tiny stones irregularly set so that they harmoniously refract the light, covering the ceiling with golden atoms like star dust. The background is pale gold, the garments and the banners of the angels are silver, the round medallion of Christ, dark blue. The stems of the anemones do not rise stiffly up like branched candlesticks as in the mosaic of Santa Cecilia, but vein the green-blue of the field with delicate threads, bursting into great red blossoms like little shining golden sparks. Throughout the mosaic, on the garments, in the sky, in the locks of hair, in the flowers, there are reminiscences of this golden radiance. The principle of subordination of colours to the one fundamental tone is triumphantly illustrated in the rich work of this chapel.

In the apse of Santa Prassede appears the traditional scene already familiar in the Rome of Pope Felix IV: Christ in the midst, on the waters of Jordan; at the sides saints presenting Prassede and Pudenziana to Him. But superior in their mother-of-pearl iridescence are the bright sunset clouds in the apse of SS. Cosma and Damiano; the reduced figures become zones of light; movement is subdued and the brightness of individual colours becomes one calm glow.

A bright gold background and barbaric colours sound the prevailing note in the Santa Cecilia mosaic, similar in design to the work just described, but with timid meagre figures. The walls of Jerusalem are like jewelled stoles, the many-coloured clouds catch fire, the flesh is ruby-coloured. The flaming colours become excessive, and at the same time the nobility and the restful rhythm of composition in the San Zenone chapel disappear.

The mosaics of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, the most fascinating creations of the Rome of Leo III and of Paschal I, have night-blue instead of gold backgrounds, and with these are contrasted ineffably sweet, silvery tones. These mosaics,

Ravenna. Mausoleum of Theodoric, Sixth Century

Ravenna. S. Apollinare Nuovo.
Mosaic of the Sixth Century

like those in Santa Maria in Domnica, have a supreme harmony of line and colour.

The mosaic of Santa Maria Domnica on the front of the arch is divided by one jewelled band into two distinct parts; the upper ruled in white by the line of apostles striding towards Christ from both ends; the lower decorated with two figures pointing to the Virgin as she sits in majesty in the hollow of the apse. The mosaic is distinguished by square clear-cut divisions. On the front of the triumphal arch of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo the same artist has skilfully arranged his three parts in one complex unity. These parts are the Transfiguration, the Annunciation and the Virgin in Majesty. The rich mosaic is enclosed by a geometrically-designed jewelled border. The figures are assembled at the top of the arch-front, accentuating it with a rhythm of grouped lines. They are composed of Apostles lying along the curves, pointing prophets seeming to support the great sea-green apse, and an upright image of Christ forming the centre of a balance whose weights are the two adjoining figures and the more distant groups in the mosaic of the Virgin with the angel. They are blended with vermilion clouds and edged with white, and are seen sailing across the dark sky that shows up their harmony of white tones. White is the dominating note as it is in the angel hosts of Santa Maria in Domnica. The red tone of the stoles and the greenish folds of the garments make the only variation in the silvery splendour of the white-robed figures on Tabor. The folds are deeply cut, and exquisitely carry out the attitudes of the bodies. White, too, are the flowing vestments of the tall angels whose robes tremble in the spring breeze. The dark amarynth of Mary's robe strikes the deepest colour at the sides of the mosaic in the same way as her upright pose closes the design with its rigid line. The work is fully worthy of the refined artist of harmonies of colour and line who created the mosaic of Santa Maria in Domnica.

In this second mosaic there are two deep tones in the centre of the apse: the sky and the Virgin's robe. A whole gamut of gold is displayed against the dark background:

the old gold of the arras on the throne, the brighter yellow gold of the supple figure of Paschal, the golden brown of Christ's tunic. Around, are starry gleams; the robes, the diadems crowning the angel's brown locks, the circles bounding the sea-blue of the massed halos are all silver white. Gold tones are scarce, and are only to be found on the harpy-like wings and the halos of the first group of angels. The deep blue of the sky is repeated in the oval tablet with its inscription written in great, gold letters. Under the feet of the Apostles and the angels surrounding the Redeemer springs the richest show of red anemones and white lilies that can be found in Roman mosaics. They grow in bunches and resemble candelabra or sprigs of coral. The angels' knees are slightly bent and the folds of their garments are looped in a slow curve, their lines — fine blue, red or black threads — break and twine with fluid harmony and between are soft, fascinating colours. The mosaic pieces are shaded to give the faces a fine nuance. Looking at this evening sky peopled with its silvery throng one seems to be listening to the prelude of that Asiatic harmony that is to lead Italian art to Duccio di Buoninsegna and Simone Martini.

. . . . . .

No single example of the great Carolingian sculpture has come down to us, not even the bas-reliefs that, according to a contemporary poet, depicted the chief events of ancient history and of the wars of Charles Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne on the palace walls of Ingelheim. Therefore we cannot gauge the cultural movement of the Carolingian epoch towards the antique, towards Rome, that even in those dark days beckoned like a beacon from afar. The name of Rome comes easily to Alcuin's lips when he boasts of Aix: "The new Rome," he says, "touches the stars with its colossal domes, great Charles plans the position of everything and presides over the construction of the lofty walls of this future Rome." The Emperor surely meditated on the laws of ancient art as he watched the building of the royal chapel of Aix, with its columns and marbles that, with the permission of Pope Hadrian, had been brought

from Rome. Eginhart, sending a box imitated from the antique to his son, recommends him to study Vitruvius. Angilbert, Alcuin's pupil in building the Abbey of Saint Riguier, made use of columns and precious marbles brought back from Rome. Aaron, the bishop of Auxerre, on returning with the Emperor from Italy in the year 800, constructed a *ciborium* on the model of those he had seen in the Eternal City.

RAVENNA. S. VITALE:
INTERIOR, SIXTH CENTURY

The masterpiece of Carolingian goldsmiths' work is the gold altar in Sant' Ambrogio, the gift of the Archbishop Angilbert II, who ordered its construction by Volvinius in the year 835. This famous prelate, who invited some French monks *ad illuminationem suae ecclesiae*, has presented us in this piece with the best example of the culture of French convents and of the artistic forms evolved at Corbie which are contemporary with the calligraphical designs of Tours,

and with the codexes of the Abbey of Fulda. The craftsman is represented in the act of being blessed by Sant' Ambrogio in a medallion bearing the words *VVOL VI NIUS MAGISTER PHABER.* On the other side is Angilberto with a square halo, a sign that he was alive at the time, offering the altar to his patron saint. The inscription *DOMN VS AN GIL BER TV S* refers to the archbishop

RAVENNA. S. VITALE:
INTERIOR, SIXTH CENTURY

who succeeded Angilbert I in 824 and died in 860. The epigraph written round the altar speaks in praise of the bright metals and jewelled ornaments, its exterior beauty, but still more of the treasure of the sacred bones deposited therein. And Angilbert, while holding priestly office, adds the inscription, "offered, and consecrated this work to the temple dedicated to Sant' Ambrogio." The inscription closes with an invocation to the great father

Ambrogio to have pity on his servant, and to God to recompense him for his sublime gift.

This gold and silver altar, supposed to be a Romanesque work on account of its architecture without trace of Byzantine influence, has been compared with the altar-front in the Cathedral of Città di Castello, but, as a matter of fact, there is no connection whatever. It is the fruit of a refined art that draws its inspiration from classical materials and forms. In the Cross of the left-hand end there is an inverted jewel, cut with a Cupid, another with a sphinx, another with a winged head, and even one with a Greek inscription. Thus the method, typical of the goldsmiths of the Dark Ages, of inserting ancient gems in gold and amongst enamels continues; and here, as in the Carolingian miniatures — witness the Gospels of Luigi il Bonario (Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, lat. 8850) — the gems and cameos still form an integral part of the decoration. Classical forms can be recognised in this altar; the archangels, the angels, the saints, Ambrogio before becoming a bishop, the gentleman whose hurt foot he is pressing and the men to whom he is preaching still wear cloaks hooked upon one shoulder; Ambrogio's horse is inspired by antique bronzes. Other proofs that the ancient tradition is still living are the parallel altars marked with a cross and with votive crowns hung above them; the jewelled steps and Ambrogio's pall ornamented with circles or *oculi;* the decorations of simple spirals or volutes from which rise other volutes; the full baptism immersion of the saint, over whose head a vase of water is poured; and St. Martin descending, swathed, into the tomb.

Whilst the West is illumined with this faint Carolingian glimmer, Byzantine art enters into its second golden age that lasts until the twelfth century. Strongly conservative, it was able to maintain the architectural types evolved under Justinian, especially during the hey-day of the Byzantine Empire under the Macedonian dynasty. In those days of prosperity Basil I built Sancta Sophia of Salonica with its typical central cupola. He presented "the Church to Christ, her immortal bridegroom, as a

RAVENNA. BASILICA OF S. VITALE

CIVIDALE. TEMPIETTO

bride decked for her wedding feast, lovely with fine pearls and gold, with the splendour of silver and changing marbles, with mosaics and silks." The great central cupola, dedicated to the omnipotent God, became the chief model for ecclesiastical constructions. Lesser cupolas sprang up around

BARLETTA. CHURCH OF S. SEPOLCRO.
STATUE OF HERACLIUS

it and the old style of churches with horizontal roofs soon vanished from the city.

Byzantine art, especially in Sicily, was associated with oriental Mussulman's art; it acquired Asiatic elements from the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris. And thus it came to Venice, imported with Levantine trade, of which the Republic had become the chief centre.

The splendour of Byzantine art blazed forth in Palermo with the mosaics in the Cappella Palatina, and Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio; Cefalù with those in its Cathedral;

Monreale and Venice in their basilicas. Byzantine art began now to spread to the West not only in golden mosaic coverings, but by means of illuminated codexes, menologies, homilies, octateuchs, psalters, in which the old Greek forms lived once more under peacock canopies,

Ravenna Cathedral. Ivory Episcopal Throne by Massimiano, Sixth Century

amongst showers of gems, stars and blossoms. It penetrated everywhere with the splendid cloths, the gold embroidery, the silver inlay that adorned the great doors of the churches of Montecassino, of San Michele sul Monte Gargano, of San Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome, of Salerno, and of San Marco at Venice.

Byzantine ivory carving, with diptychs, triptychs, reliquaries, little boxes and sacred ikons, furnished models for the whole of Europe from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, spreading with the diffusion of the revived Byzantine art. With the ivories came much goldsmiths'

work, with multicoloured jewelled enamels covered with raised figures.

All this richness can be seen in St. Mark's treasure at Venice, especially in the *pala d'oro* with its enamels partly taken from the "Templon" monastery of the All-Powerful at Constantinople.

# II

# ROMANESQUE ART

All through the fourth century in Rome one notes a striving after fanciful effects of light and shade, colour and movement. It is as though a kind of artistic drunkenness had descended from the carved vines clinging to the monuments of Constantine's age. By the use of porphyry the reliefs in the Arch of Constantine gain a distinct projection that was lacking before, the almost mask-like figures are cut in the Egyptian manner on flat, smooth surfaces. Columns begin to be carved on the spiral to give play to light and shade amongst the contortions, as in the so-called Holy Column in Saint Peter's. The drill is brought into use. The reliefs of the sarcophagus of Giunio Basso (now in the Grotte Vaticane) are cut obliquely in order to emphasise the surfaces of light against the swarming shadows of the rocky background.

Like a fire beginning to glow beneath the ashes, Classicism appears once again in all creations of art, even amongst the designs and traditions of other regions and ages. The new basilicas, not of course without exception, are actually constructed within ancient secular buildings, Santa Maria Maggiore in a private temple, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in the old Palazzo Sessoriano, once the dwelling of Constantine's mother, Helen. The Modern, therefore, cannot easily strike out a fresh line amongst the restricting dimensions of the Ancient, and in these new, patched-up constructions reconstituted as Christian churches, builders feel bound to work in harmony with the venerable ruins.

Since the fifth century the whirlwind of the invasions had been raging, but the storm had scarcely died away and the fugitive Romans returned from Africa, Egypt, Palestine, when Rome rose up once again shaking the ashes from her mantle, tattered but still august in the eyes of the world.

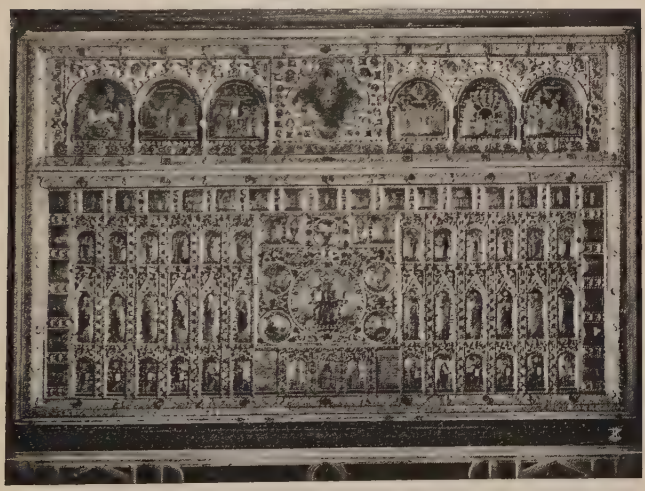
Loaded with brooches, buckles, necklaces as they were, with their weapons ornamented with garnets, crystals and

precious stones, the barbarian invaders of Italy really introduced no new artistic influence. On the contrary, the garish effect of their goldsmiths' work agreed very well with all the phases of Christian art, daily moving further away from the representation of the human figure. This was so much the case that in Byzantium, the new capital of the civilised world, a stage of actual iconoclasm, of destruction of images, was reached. Italy, by religion and tradition not adverse to representative arts, merely achieved an *artistic iconoclasm*, that is to say, an increasing subordination of the human figure to geometric floral decoration. Because art has been confused with form, and especially with the form of the human figure, it has been common to criticise the centuries before Dante, Giotto and Giovanni Pisano as overshadowed with a barbarous gloom. But if in this respect the Middle Ages were barbaric, in regard to floral and geometric decoration they were highly cultured.

Byzantium came out of her long winter of iconoclasm with the artistic tendencies inherited from the sixth century developed and reduced to a system, but in the second golden age (from the ninth to the eleventh century), although it fell short of the glory of the time of Justinian, her art had a more profound and illuminating influence in the West. Italy, in close communication with Constantinople, became covered with Byzantine structures and some of the best still enhance the beauty of Venice and Sicily. The Greek Orient imposed its influence on painting up to the close of the thirteenth century in Italy, not, however, on architecture and sculpture, for since the eleventh century a new art had sprung up, known as Romanesque, but which should more properly be called Italian.

Wherever the ancient eagle of the legions spread his wings, there the Romanesque arts flourished. It seemed that the whole world from the Campania to Lombardy, from the banks of the Rhine to the Danube, was stirring with a ferment of old memories. On every side shoots put out from the ancient Roman trunk. From Aosta to Monreale, from Venice to the Bocche di Cattaro, the unity of the Italian race expressed itself in the unity of a new-born

MILAN. S. AMBROGIO: THE HIGH ALTAR IN GOLD AND ENAMEL



VENICE. ST. MARK'S: THE PALA D'ORO

art. Towers sprang up to protect the little clusters of habitations; castles were built; between towers and castles rose the cathedrals, the strongholds of religion and patriotism.

But the sounds that were beginning to shape themselves into articulate words were few and far between, and the words were indistinct. The tools with which men were

MODENA CATHEDRAL. TWELFTH CENTURY

striving to give an expression of life were still rude and untempered, though they were becoming more sensitive with use, breaking stone and marble from the quarries of Luni, Lombardy, Verona and Istria. Examples of ancient indigenous art were still rare, but statues lovely in their nakedness were unearthed from the ruins and were no longer considered as baneful idols, but as witnesses to the old skill. In Etruria Ristoro d'Arezzo believed that the Aretine vases had come down from Heaven. From the Roman tombs and archaic Greek marbles of Emilia,

Guglielmo and Niccolò drew inspiration for the decoration of their cathedrals. The wonderful style immortalised by Niccolò in Apulia was founded on the designs of Italo-Graecian vases discovered in the ploughed fields. Mother Earth seemed to open her arms to the light, and uncover her breast to give milk to bulls and serpents, as she may be seen portrayed in the *rotuli* of the *Exultet*.

VERONA. CHURCH OF S. ZENO

In the eleventh century in Italy Romanesque art was already born with local characteristics. Not that these were entirely a spontaneous growth, for we find certain indications and designs that connect it with Ravennate forms of the sixth century; and we cannot expect to discover the chief explanation of a movement so complex as the Romanesque style, in matters of detail such as in the construction of the curved arch on fluted pilasters, or in interwoven sculptural decorations.

The first and most typical expression of the Christian

spirit in art was the subordination of all other elements to light effects. These were at first produced by the choice of materials, the bright glass, the precious metals and jewels that were brought to the wharves of sea-board cities from Byzantium and the East. Inland regions, however, such as Lombardy had neither the wealth nor the opportunities to carry on the chromatic tradition. It is Lombardy that from force of circumstances is the pioneer amongst the States of inland Italy in the organisation of both the *Comune* and the Romanesque Cathedral. Great numbers of sculptors and master-masons from Campione, Como and Mendrisio attempted the same light effects, originally obtained with the aid of rare metals and glasses, by the alternation of brick and stone and the use of tiers of arches. They were bound to feel that their effects, owing more to creative skill than to the materials used, had more to do with art than those of their forerunners. At last, after innumerable attempts, they effectively succeeded in Sant' Ambrogio of Milan in attaining absorption of light and colour by architectural and sculptural technique alone. By these methods they were successful in the *basilica a crociera* in reconciling the longitudinal and the central systems of construction, thus solving a problem outstanding since the fourth century. They not only contrived to get interior light effects as had been done in the Dark Ages, but by an ingenious use of projections and recesses they were also successful in doing so on exteriors.

The work accomplished from the sixth to the eleventh centuries in the regions less under Byzantine influence was not entirely unprofitable from the point of view of art. Deep in the bowels of the earth beneath volcanic slag and piles of debris from another age a slow, hidden, continuous process was taking place. In the cavernous darkness and in peace, art liberated herself from the constraint imposed by precious materials and their glittering artifices and became more spiritual. Modern art had its beginnings in the Romanesque Cathedral.

Owing to the scarcity of materials, it was found necessary to construct the municipal buildings and the cathedrals

MODENA CATHEDRAL: ROMANESQUE PORTAL.
TWELFTH CENTURY

MODENA CATHEDRAL: ORNAMENTS ON THE TOP OF A PILASTER

that were becoming essential for the new civic life from the remains of ancient monuments. The *Duomo* of Modena was covered with marbles from the *Via dei Sepolcri*. This was the creation of the architect Lanfranco and the sculptors Guglielmo, a crude and incomplete artist, and Niccolò, a carver of clean-cut reliefs framed in space like exquisite medallions, a facile, inspired inventor of traceries, spirals

San Donnino. Cathedral
(Benedetto Antelami)

and volutes in his floral and animal decoration. The crude primitive efforts of Guglielmo are found side by side in the majestic edifice with the technically unskilled but artistically refined work of Niccolò.

This incessant contrast is everywhere apparent, whether outside amongst the deep shadows lurking in the recesses of the triforia and on the typically Romanesque doorways with their classical pediments, or in the shifting light of the interior, under the hollow lantern and along the archways of

the windows and naves. Side by side with the monsters on the capitals plaiting their manes and tails in uncouth knots like creatures from the Dark Ages, the Renaissance seems to hold up classical examples in the crude funeral deities of the reverse facets, and in the famous bas-reliefs on the pilaster bands. The latter is a sculptural masterpiece of primitive Romanesque art which is here in its geometrically

PARMA. THE BAPTISTERY.
TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

smooth and rigid design very near to the purest Greek archaism. Guglielmo, Niccolò and their collaborators brought to the doorways and capitals of the Modena *Duomo* all the confused knowledge of a people that insisted on seeing themselves portrayed and apotheosised on the walls of their church. Sacred legends, biblical and epic stories, lives of the Saints, romance songs, diabolic visions of monsters and vices, all make subject for decoration. Guglielmo

adorns the façade with impressively framed sculpture full of brutal energy, whilst Niccolò places his lively formal compositions and his elegant arabesques of men, animals and foliage in the lesser doorways, *dei Principi* and *della Peschiera*.

The art of these two masters spreads over Emilia, Lombardy and Venetia. One sees it at Nonantola in the door of the abbey church, at Ferrara, in the *Duomo* of Cremona, at Piacenza, in the great church founded by the Countess Matilda at San Benedetto Po or Benedetto di Polirone, in the *Duomo* of Parma and in San Zeno of Verona: Guglielmo repeating his imposing barbaric designs, Niccolò developing his composed primitive images with an increasing fire and spirit that reaches a culminating height in the inspired patterns on the capitals of San Zeno.

Side by side with these two great pioneers in the Romanesque movement of North Italy, a guild of architects and sculptors wins recognition in the Trentino and does work in the Cathedrals of Trento and of Traù in Dalmatia. A constant interchange of ideas can be observed between Romanesque and Provençal art of the twelfth century, so that, despite obvious special characteristics, one homogeneous current of feeling joins Southern France to Upper Italy as far east as Dalmatia and as far south as Lucca, Volterra and Massa Marittima in Tuscany.

Towards the end of the *dugento*, Lombard-Romanesque art, as a creator of pictorial effects by means of complicated distribution of light and shade, experiences a great development with the quarrying of Veronese marble. The Lombard movement reaches its highest point with Antelami (1178–1233). We recognise Antelami's work for the first time in his *Crucifixion*, a bas-relief in the cathedral of Parma executed some few years after the great artist of the *pontile* in the *Duomo* of Modena had carved his agile caryatides as a magnificent plastic synthesis in marble. He differs in this work from the massive Lombard pioneers by his slim, tenuous, little figures, like stiff stalks of flowers clad in garments of thread-like folds. It is as though a delicate miniaturist had succeeded the impressive modellers of the

VENICE. ST. MARK'S

VENICE. ST. MARK'S: INTERIOR

plastic. It is only later, however, that his art really finds itself in the Baptistery of Parma, that elegant octagonal structure with its open façades and chamfered corners. Here the colour effect is disciplined and graduated into regular uniform fields of light and shade, the massive bulk of the Romanesque is lightened by graceful little columns set at wide intervals to support the narrow entablatures, the Romanesque arches beneath the cornice are designed with lace-like delicacy, movement and style is given to the corners of the building by little pinnacles in the French fashion. The regular openwork façade now takes the place of a multiplication of fantastic light effects, the spirit of Gothic art begins to be apparent in the increasing slenderness of mouldings and in the importance given to the perpendicular. But the subjection of Antelamesque statuary to architectural design is more absolute than ever; statues are boxed up in square or rectangular niches and their surfaces are flattened so that they stand level with the walls. The same refined art lavished by the sculptor over an ornament above a door or the filmy garments of Salome is to be found in the capitals with their carved drapery falling in concentric waves from under the winding *abaci*. Elegantly refined in the slim figures of his decorations, completely under the sway of pleated drapery, a facile teller of the popular biblical legends, Antelami at the same time contrives to imbue the angels he has set in niches over the great door with a sacerdotal majesty, making them as sturdy and powerful as the prophets on the exterior of the Cathedral of Borgo San Donnino. The sculptor gives a classical nobility to the figure of the Queen of Sheba in her soft transparent veils, and a fire to the looks and attitudes of the archangels in the Baptistery. The poem of human redemption is unfolded in this building, guarded by solemn angels and prophetic seers. Let the loathly worm open wide his maw, let wild beasts and sculptured sins and vices prowl about the fount of Grace; God who has trodden down the powers of evil will put them to flight. The Baptistery is the soul's cleansing place, here is regeneration and salvation. The dragon that threatened the root of

VENICE. BASILICA OF ST. MARK'S, THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
DETAILS OF DECORATION ON MAIN PORTAL

the tree of Life is laid low, pierced to the heart by the guardian angels of the holy place.

With Antelami's last work, the statue of Oldrado da Tresseno at Milan, the equestrian statue — many centuries after the building of Theodoric's monument at Ravenna — appears once more in a municipal palace, in sight of a public square; the equestrian statue, the heroic monument *par excellence*, transfigured by a silken play of garments and a restrained modesty of form.

Whilst Antelami is carving his graceful, often polychromatic, sculpture at Parma, Borgo San Donnino, Vercelli and Milan, the Venetians, attempting a fusion of Byzantine refinement and Antelamesque design, after harking back to mediaeval Christian traditions (witness the columns of the *ciborium* in St. Mark's and the sarcophagi in the cloisters of the Santo of Padua) succeed in creating the great vaulted roof of the Months and the angels of the *crociera* in St. Mark's. It was then that Romanesque art adorned the doorways of the gold-encrusted cathedral with unparalleled magnificence. No more Antelami's poor little leaves, no more geometrically exact divisions, but a tangle of lush foliage, animals, men, complicated knots: fantastic sculpture, vital in every curve and swirl of the winding lines and s-shaped framework. The reinvigorated imagery of this Romanesque structure borrows ideas from the sumptuous Byzantine embroidery. Great marble *cetre*, made up of branches and folded leaves and heavy with magnificent hanging bunches of grapes, enclose sculptures of animals fighting. All these trunks and leaves and beasts are worked with the fineness of marble inlay rather than of marble sculpture. Elsewhere there are children chasing each other in play amongst labyrinths of intertwined boughs, and various scenes of life carved in circles. The leaves and branches twine over into the round plaques, blend with the arabesques, catch up a varied world of shapes into the meshes of a single net: life is lost in this profuse vegetation. From the leafy elaborations of the vault, the figures of the months, modelled with exquisite fineness of line, stand out in flat relief; here, busy at work, is the beautiful fowler with birds flying up in

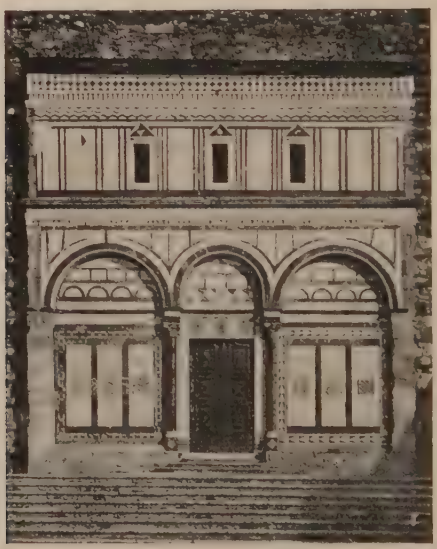
struggling clusters from his hands, there, seated on golden thrones, is August immersed in sultry slumber. Gradual spirals of storks' necks winding round precious vases, curves of clinging branches, twisted calligraphical scrolls, a uniform fineness of chiselled outline make this monumental vault and the priestly angels of the *crociera* the sculptural master-

Florence. The Baptistery.
Restored with marble by Arnolfo di Cambio

pieces of St. Mark's. When Venice at the time of Niccolò d'Apulia imitated the elegance of Byzantine work and aimed at decorative splendour, she wrote in the reliefs of St. Mark's portal a preface, as it were, to a prayer book or missal, reminding the world of God the Lord of Time and Life.

In Tuscany a whole line of architects in marble seem to have inherited a classical conception of design, and main-

tained it intact through the centuries. This is manifest in the Baptistery of Florence, in San Miniato al Monte, and in the cathedrals of Empoli and Fiesole. Notice the triangular pediments, the geometrical marble encrustation, the interiors divided into triple naves by central arcades, the columns crowned with Corinthian capitals, the prevalence of horizontal and vertical planes in the construction, the pavements



Fiesole. The Badia: Central parts of the Façade, Fourth and Fifth Centuries

decorated according to classical tradition, the technique, as yet purely ancient, of the *opus sectile*. Filippo Brunelleschi and the artists of the Tuscan Renaissance found their inspiration and their models less in the old Roman buildings than in the classical elegance of *bel San Giovanni*, of San Miniato, of the Badia of Fiesole, of the ancient *pieve* of Sant' Andrea at Empoli, of Sant' Jacopo Soprarno and S. Salvatore at Florence. The pictorial effects of light and shade

San Miniato al Monte: Façade

San Miniato al Monte: Interior

are now diminished; daylight shines fair and full through the great halls, whose clear-cut symmetry of line is accentuated by alternating black and white marbles. In conformity with the structural logic of these Tuscan buildings, the disordered picturesque narrative, the sculptured allegorical poetry takes its departure. Sculptors now tell the life story of Christ and the Saints in strict sequence of events. True, Byzantine forms do insinuate themselves into this conservative world; stepped rhomboids occasionally in colour are to be found on the façades and along the sides of the churches. In the course of time these Tuscans, competent decorators of columns and transepts, attain to the artistry of that great builder, Niccolò d'Apulia.

In the Romanesque age, the spirit of Rome found itself in conflict first with the Lombard and then with the Gothic style. Rome pitted her classical tradition against the multifarious light and shade effects brought about by complex disposition of masses in the Romanesque cathedrals of Northern Italy. Colour, the sparkle of gold and jewels, the passion of the Middle Ages, continues to fascinate Roman sculptors; their marbles shine with stars and roses, cathedrals are decked with vivid carpets of mosaics that Southern Italy learns how to manufacture from her Arab conquerors. But the rich and dazzling mosaic decoration, together with the sculptural ornament of interwoven classical and Romanesque designs, becomes part and parcel of architecture, emphasising outlines and perfecting balance. Mosaic cubes form geometric designs, colours are reduced to a few recurrent tones, porphyry and the green *serpentino* marble cut into disks and squares are let into the mosaic pavement. Sumptuous decorators as they are, the Cosmati are first and foremost builders; they balance the masses of their structures with the greatest care and cleverness, and use ornament only to complete the effect of their architectural designs. In the cloisters of S. Giovanni Laterano, "the haven" of pre-Arnolfian Cosmato art, the twenty-five little arches, divided into five sections on each of the four sides of the portico, rest on a high substructure and form a decorated lattice or transenna. The bosses and the cording

EMPOLI. CATHEDRAL

FLORENCE. SANTI APOSTOLI

of the arches, the narrow fluting of the vaulting forestall the Renaissance. The bracket decoration, the flowers, the feathery foliage, the small masks with serpents twined at the brow, the chimera clutching single trunks, the spread-eagles, the monsters that the gloomy Romanesque imagination lets loose from the dark shadows of the church, all these things follow the curves of the arches with the curves of their symmetrical forms, their intertwinings prescribed within a regular design. Lion heads and masks, for use as water spouts, intersect the delicate floral arabesque carved on the cornice into compartments, just as the disks and squares of porphyry and *serpentino* intersect the frieze. Shimmer of mosaics, richness of marbles, blaze of intense colour, all submit to a surprising metrical discipline; a discipline which the architects of the cloister have respected by emphasising the two columns of the middle span with rich ornamentation and leaving bare the other four twin-columns so that the eye is drawn by this means to the centre of each of the great groups of five, and the succession of extended archways is accentuated. Polygons, check patterns, mosaic stars, the favourite ornaments of the Cosmati, punctuate the gay stripes wound in various ways round the stems of the central columns. Here and there the flicker of light and shade within the spirals of two twining serpents or the complexities of a twisted column takes the place of colour.

The door of S. Tommaso in Formis is conceived with sublime Roman breadth of design. It is set between flat, wide cornices and has for sole impressive ornament a radiating nimbus of faced stones following the curve of the arch.

More complicated outlines are to be found in the portal of Sant' Antonio. Here the system of columns and pilasters supporting the great concentric arches, divided with flutings and bounded by sharp cornices, creates intense and distinct alternations of lights and shades. A second arrangement above of little columns and short pilasters carried by an Egyptian sphinx, a frequent Cosmato motif (in S. Giovanni Laterano for example), repeats the *chiaroscuro* effect, breaking

the uprights of the smooth front of the arch. As in the noblest monuments of the Tuscan Renaissance, the entablature has for its only decoration an inscription.

Face to face with the grandeur of these concentric arches that crown the door with a royal halo and the truly classic rhythm of the balanced masses, one overlooks the inexperience and the effort of the work. Art that had been

CIVITÀ CASTELLANA. CATHEDRAL

engaged in lighting gloomy crypts and dark apses and side-chapels with an artificial sparkle of mosaic begins to love the sun. A breath of old Rome awakes the timid vernal blossoming of a precocious Renaissance in the Eternal City.

Pietro and Niccolò di Rainerio set their signatures above the door and window of Santa Maria di Castello at Corneto Tarquinia. This church is one of the most ancient, and at the same time most classical constructions of the mediaeval Roman art that favours measured distances, regular ornament

and a flat expanse of cornice. The graceful door is surrounded with a broad frame and is topped by a lunette, like an enlarged halo, giving it an appearance of calm dignity and sober splendour.

Anticipating architects of the Renaissance, the old sculptors placed circular rings within the double frame of the lunette, a practice later so dear to Donatello and

CIVITÀ CASTELLANA. CATHEDRAL: DOORWAY. THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Bramante. In the larger cornice these are divided by another geometric design of golden dots arranged in squares. The regular spacing of the decoration makes it a vital part of the chosen building.

A striving after the grandiose is rarer than is generally believed in this balanced classical art that loves flat surfaces on which to spread its bright mosaics. It is opulent only in exceptional cases. Nevertheless, this tendency is obvious in the lofty triumphal arch that rises from the low portal of

Rome. St. John Lateran: Cloisters

Monreale. Cloister of the Monks

the *Duomo* of Cività Castellana. It is broad and is confined between an ample base of steps and an entablature decorated with a fine geometric border of mosaic squares and disks, such as is found in the Roman wall-paintings. The Cosmatesque modesty of proportions of the Ionic colonnade is accentuated by this sparkling belt, especially in comparison with the arch on pilasters crowned with a classical pediment. A design such as this, of an arch that breaks the portico and exalts the importance of the intercolumns, is a common practice centuries later amongst the humanistic architects, an example that comes to mind being Bramante's portal of the Canonica of Sant' Ambrogio. It is not found, however, in the similar porches of the Roman churches, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura and San Giorgio in Velabro. In the first example the massive entablature, supported by thick Ionic columns, is decorated with a mosaic frieze, in the second with a lofty architrave bare but for a pair of lion heads.

In 1216, year of the construction of the classic porch of San Lorenzo, in 1210, date of the porch of Cività Castellana, when Gothic designs were beginning to appear in Italy, the Cosmati still believed in the superiority of the horizontal over the vertical, and were still faithful to the rounded arch and regular belts of colour. Splendid examples of mosaic decoration applied to Cosmatesque architecture are to be found in the two mediaeval doors in the atrium of the *Duomo* at Cività Castellana, work of the sculptors Lorenzo and Jacopo. Framed with gay mosaic work, the main door opens under an aureole of arches that, springing from columns and pilasters, trace a great graded nimbus round the brightly-coloured stones that form the lunette. Slight flowered bands of mosaic edge the corner posts, becoming fuller as they spread a multicoloured carpet along the ledges and then descend between stripes of white marble to the frame of the entablature connecting the elegantly moulded door with the expanse of frame and the majestic arches. The predominant grey of the surrounding walls accentuates the many-coloured mosaic and the ribbons of white marble that compose bold geometric designs of

Santa Francesca Romana | S. Giorgio in Velabro | Santa Maria in Cosmedin

Rome.

rectangles and circles. The magnificent half-rose lunette introduces a new means of obtaining colour, rare in Cosmatesque art, that is to say, open-work masonry.

The side door is different and simpler. It repeats the contrast between the coping of the middle arch and the reduced proportions of the intercolumns. It is nobly framed by a brilliant surrounding, in which stripes and white rings punctuate the mosaic work with a supremely restrained rhythm.

Amongst the finest creations of the Roman architects are their square church towers. These are made up of successive dados one above the other, relieved with white marble mouldings, with saw-tooth brick courses, sometimes with majolica. These ornaments make up a happy colour-scheme that accentuates the geometric design, much in the same way as do the mosaics in Cosmatesque cloisters and *ciboria*. The frequent gay cornices, the white notchings, the arches repeated in one dado above the other, all contribute to prevent these beautiful structures from making the impression of gloomy and crushing tyranny, such as some of the Romanesque towers give. For the most part they have survived the restoration of their churches and remind one of the masts of sunken ships.

As is always the case in the art of the Cosmati, care is taken to link the various sections together by a great number of vividly coloured cornices. Besides the simple framework of white marble mouldings and toothed brickwork, there are to be seen in the towers of Santa Francesca Romana and SS. Giovanni e Paolo marble columns with jutting crutch-shaped capitals, as in the cloister of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and circular plaques, marble crosses, even majolica plates, all arranged in methodical order. Order is typical of the art of the Cosmati, an art that owes nothing to the complex motifs of masses nor to the lights and shades of Lombard imagination, nothing to the sumptuous Arab-Norman prodigality of colour, but is founded, like the art of the Italian Renaissance, on balance and constructional regularity.

It is from the Cosmati that the Umbrian architects trace

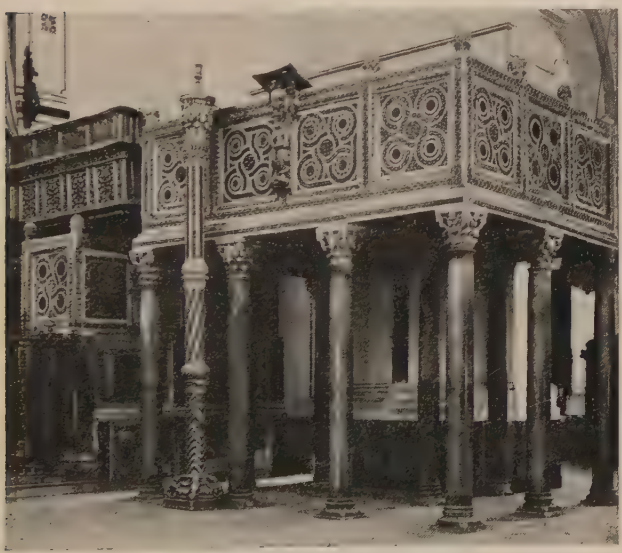
Castel del Monte, Thirteenth Century

Castel del Monte. Doorway

their artistic descent. With no glass mosaics nor fine marbles to hand they succeed in colouring stone fragments, and create effects with a combination of white and violet stones, as can be studied in the mother-church of San Francesco at Assisi. Poor and monotonous in style, their best work is in the Palazzo dei Rettori in Perugia, side by side with that of Pietro Cavallini, Niccolò d'Apulia and Giovanni Pisano.

In Southern Italy and Sicily, as in Rome, the study of the ancient is the foundation of new designs; the Campanian masters are inspired by Campanian art, the Italo-Graecian vases of Apulia are the models for the great Apulian artists, Greek art teaches the Sicilians. The Apulians attain to the clear architecture of Castel del Monte. This is a plain smooth-sided mass, with great bastions at every corner, and a gateway copied and reduced from a triumphal arch, worthy to be compared with classical art in the masks and roses of its keystone ornamentation. In the sculpture of this Swabian castle one recognises the origin of Niccolò d'Apulia. Equally pure Campanian design is to be found in the marvellous pulpit of San Pantaleone at Ravello, especially in the figure *Mater Ecclesia*, an image with heavy robe and diadems. A certain archaic primness of line and lavishness of decoration, however, reveal a leaning towards Byzantinism. Another figure of *Mater Ecclesia*, the one in the Berlin museum, originally from Scala, is more glowing. Here the shoulders break out from the encircling robe, the curling hair stirs in the wind under the light diadem of leaves, the great eyes open to the sun. In this Scala bust a passionate breath of life replaces the impassable archaism and solemnity of the Ravello figure, a new art gazes from the inspired eyes. In the dazzling mosaic decoration of the pulpits at Ravello, Sessa Aurunca and Salerno, and in the plaited arches of the Amalfi cloisters, Campanian art is under the glamour of the Saracenic influence, which together with Byzantinism dominates in Sicily. An architecture is evolved resplendent with oriental lights and polychromatic Arabian variegations. Splendour of colour, fantastic scintillations, inexhaustible variety of ornament enrich it with those pictur-

Ravello. Cathedral: Details of the Pulpit



Salerno. Cathedral Pulpit, Twelfth Century

esque effects that Lombard-Romanesque art attained by complex distribution of light and shade.

Cosmatesque art fully matures in the thirteenth century; and then, though shy as ever of Gothic forms, it finds a master in Tuscany who knows how to bring native notes into the great harmony — Arnolfo di Cambio. And then it is that Arnolfo, in unison with the Cosmati, begins to exalt the Italian tradition, and an echo is heard in the art of Giotto and through him in all Italian painting.

# III

# ITALIAN SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

## (THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

# NICCOLÒ D'APULIA · GIOVANNI PISANO · ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO · GIOTTO · ANDREA PISANO · ORCAGNA · NINO PISANO · FOLLOWERS OF GIOVANNI PISANO · SCULPTORS IN NORTHERN ITALY

Niccolò d'Apulia's grave statuary recalls the mighty constructions of ancient Etruria and Rome, and it marks the first cleavage with Romanesque art. He prepares the way for the great reform in sculpture continued by Giovanni; he is the precursor, the creator of the new era. In Niccolò's first work, the pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa, sculpture is subordinated to architectural framework, as in the Romanesque. The reliefs are flattened and fitted into the panels of the multisided structure. The pilasters of the arches are strengthened by groups of small columns on the upper storey and noble figures of the Virtues on the lower.

Although the sculptor recalls Apulian and Campanian pulpit-design, he constructs his octagonal mass more compactly and solidly on columns rising to leafy capitals, and vigorously accentuates the corners with his grouped columels and statues. In place of brilliant mosaic and black and white marble inlay, he substitutes an intenser and richer carving. He makes the imposing figures stand out in clear relief from the panels. He introduces more statues to act as columns between the arches and the sustaining *abacus* of the small columns, bowing to stern architectural necessity. In this he follows the spirit of Romanesque art against which Giovanni afterwards rebels in his pulpits with a Gothic boldness, freeing statues from their backgrounds and thrusting them out from their positions at the corners. In Niccolò's work, the dignity of ample sculptural designs, the richness of drapery folds, the increased structural solidity of scenes and figures, the new development of the sculptural element, the massive relief, all reflect the last phase of



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Romanesque art and at the same time announce the new spirit spread abroad by Giovanni.

The pulpit at Siena was made in collaboration with his pupils, and its sculptural effect is richer and more varied than the Pisan example. The recession of the base gives it mobility; the stair ascends in a curving ramp. A dense mass of reliefs covers the sides of the balcony to the statues of the corner-posts, that here take the place of the grouped columns that divide the panels of the Pisan pulpit. Where these statues are by the hand of Giovanni they produce complex effects of movement, but otherwise they are scarcely accentuated. At the same time as the figures in the reliefs become smaller and lose something of their classic richness, they acquire a plasticity that heightens the *chiaroscuro*. But in the whole, the architectural idea prevails and dominates the broad surfaces of relief. It is only in those panels carved by Giovanni himself, and in the angels that lean from one of the elevations brandishing trumpets, that a new life struggles for freedom with the violence of rebellion.

The profound difference between the art of Niccolò and Giovanni is still more evident in the fountain at Perugia. A compact, polished, many-sided basin, strengthened at the corners by pronounced groups of columns, rests on an ample circular base of steps. From this gracefully rises a second basin, and from the second a bronze bowl, in which plunges a magnificent group of nymphs and dragons, boldly shoots up like a smooth cupped flower. The linked arms alternatively resting on the hips and raised to support the pedestal of dragons, grafted one over the other to form pointed handles for the wonderful vase, form one of the most exquisite ornamental designs ever created by Italian Gothic since its Etruscan beginnings. The superb crown rises from a short pedestal, the slender dragons rear up to the sky with beating wings, one paw uplifted seems to beat time for their fantastic dance. Not a single detail fails to join in the swift upward leap, in the unity of excited rhythm. In this living flower of Giovanni's ardent imagination there is no trace of Niccolò's influence.

PISA. BAPTISTERY: THE PULPIT (NICCOLÒ PISANO)

The idea of the independence of sculptural from architectural restrictions is manifest in the undisciplined sculptural profusion of the façade of the *Duomo* of Siena. Its lions, dragons and prancing horses, no longer subordinate to the architectural whole, thrust themselves out from the marble wells in complete freedom, and sniff the wind that tosses their tangled manes. A company of seers, prophets, sibyls and ancient philosophers stands side by side with this tribe of monsters and holds them in thrall, while they proclaim aloud the great truths of knowledge and faith. Eagles and vultures nest in the boldly executed vegetation, evil-eyed, hooked-billed griffins, and mastiffs crouching to spring, a whole population of monsters cranes out from the façade like figures of an apocalyptic vision. Yet they are all brought into harmony with the shaggy-haired prophets who menace them. Amongst the statues a horse, a miracle of thirteenth-century sculpture, breaks out from his narrow niche with impatient energy in every limb. His very fibres tremble, his joints are strained to breaking-point, his eyes roll in their orbits. Few statues of any age can compare with this Sienese work, in which a Greek beauty of form is imbued with keen Gothic sensibility, typical of Giovanni.

In the Baptistery of Pisa, as in the Perugian fountain, the sculptor follows in his father's footsteps, decorating the crown of the arches, which Niccolò had arranged round the Romanesque building, with cusps made gay with marble inlay. And as with the fountain, the arrival of Giovanni means in the Pisan building a superimposition of magnificent imaginative forms on primitive classical design. The pinnacles flanking the triangular cusps of patriarchs and prophets seem to bear aloft, like sumptuous candelabra from a slight base of columns, sheaves of flowers amongst the lacy marble spandrels. The statues are now mostly restored, but the fragments in the Civic Museum of Pisa bear witness to their original beauty, particularly a headless figure of superb carriage due to the contrast between the swift recoil of the body, the tenseness of the left shoulder, and the inert fall of a piece of drapery; a wizard's head appearing

Pisa. The Baptistery Crucifixion (Niccolò Pisano)

Pistoia. Sant' Andrea Crucifixion (Giovanni Pisano)

from a cloak wrapped round his shoulders, is crowned with flames and has as fiery a look as that of Sant' Andrea on the door of the church of that name at Pistoia.

Similar to the figures on the Pistoia pulpit is the Madonna in the Scrovegni Chapel. She stands erect between two sturdily built angels with ardent faces and arms stretched out holding branched candlesticks to give her light. There is a very great difference between the Madonna on the cemetery door at Pisa and this figure. Here the impassioned nobility of feature is brought out by the chisel with deep incisive shadows; the clear-cut arched eyebrows throw a mystery of shade and half-shade over the almond eyes; the crowned head, absorbed in a fixity of attention, almost turned in profile on the robust neck, is full of a troubled breathing life. The curly-headed Child perched on her arm leans eagerly towards his mother with a movement intensified by the oblique line of his garment. His lips are parted and with wide curious eyes he questions the enigmatic countenance of his mother.

The curve of the Paduan Madonna, truly Italian in the restraint of its energetic tension, is more pronounced in the Madonna of the Cathedral of Pisa. This precious little statue, carved from an elephant tusk, has the bold elastic flexibility of the French ivories. The distance between Mother and Child, on which the Italian sense of balance used to insist, is abolished; the Virgin proudly holds her divine Child aloft on her left arm, while her right remains suspended in space with fingers open as though to seek support. The Gothic genius here excels itself in the rich girdle knot that forms the delicate centre of the curve of this statue.

The passionate ardour and nervous strength of the Madonna degli Scrovegni animate every single bas-relief and statue of the pulpit at Pistoia. In conception it is reminiscent of the Sienese pulpit, but the similarity only serves to accentuate the new style, the triumphal progress of Gothic art. In place of the sedate figures inserted as supports in the Sienese pulpit, we almost always find here groups of statues; three prophets at a single corner (their

PISA. BAPTISTERY: DETAILS OF THE PULPIT (NICCOLÒ PISANO)

SIENA. CATHEDRAL: PULPIT
(NICCOLÒ PISANO AND ASSISTANTS)

bodies close against the rounded pilaster, the heads thrust out with a pained energy from the background); the symbols of the Evangelists grouped together, the animals forming a pedestal for an angel with shining face; most magnificent of all, the wild mass of angel-trumpeters linked together in a spiral whirl, intoxicated with tempestuous movement,

SIENA. CATHEDRAL: FAÇADE

bursting from the marble base with sudden dynamic energy. Architectural considerations begin to be second in importance to sculpture, so much so that the carved heads of the figures intended to strengthen the corners of Niccolò's pulpits are sometimes below, sometimes above, the cornices. The same disregard for symmetry and impatience of restraint is to be found in the bases of pulpits. A human caryatid on a small pedestal helps to support the columns in company with the more usual rampant lions, a Dantesque figure groaning under the weight, glowering from under his shaggy locks, desper-

ately straining to rise. The contrast between the broad girth of the lions and the height of the human slave desperately putting forth his gigantic strength is a daring novelty. A struggle between design and space limitations succeeds Niccolò's august tranquillity. The compact cylindrical block of the Sienese pulpit, consolidated by statues, gives way to a plinth enriched with wheeling eagles, wild beasts and birds

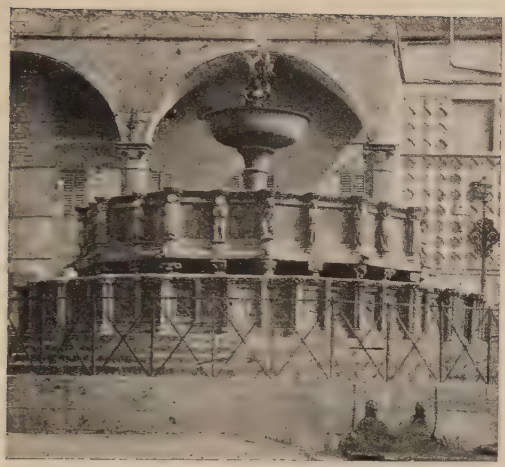
Orvieto. Cathedral: Façade
(Lorenzo Maitani of Siena)

of prey in combat, lean bristling spectres ready to rend and devour. Gothic style triumphs in the lanceolated, pointed arches and the riotous statuary. No longer do the figures sit in majesty on capitals or recline calmly within spandrels, but such is the energy of their movements and the rapid turn of their heads above the rippling folds of their garments that they create the impression, as seen from below, of thousands of flickering torches.

Amongst the bas-reliefs there is a Crucifixion design

similar to the one on the Sienese pulpit. The Christ-victim cries to the winds with an agonised gesture, and draws up a great wave of horror-struck spectators towards his central figure. The design is the same, but the energy of every gesture is intensified. The appeal to Heaven expressed in Christ's arms and hands is brought out more strongly by the abandonment of head and body against the cross, and balances the piteous gesture of the stricken Virgin. A magnetic current seems to flow between the terrified eyes of the retreating sponge-bearer and the fixed eyes of Christ strained convulsively in his direction. Wailing Fates surround the prostrated Virgin as she swoons in the supporting arms of a compassionate woman who gazes at her agonised face with the fixity of an obsession. Magdalen's attitude is to live again centuries after in the marbles of Donatello. The violence that shatters the composition like a thunderbolt gradually achieves unity as marble carving becomes more refined. The heavy painful dislocation of the Sienese Crucifixion, Romanesque in its weight, is lightened in the Pistoian example. The latter is all tense muscles, bones protruding in agony, flying locks, vigorously butting shoulders, keen looks darting from deep-set eyes. The soft, almost fluid modelling lends itself well to the involved groups and the general spirit of the composition. The shining light on the Angel Gabriel's face as he leans his curly head to irradiate the Virgin with a smile, the insane grimaces of the mothers hurtling down the steep place impelled by the outstretched arm of Herod are amongst the most amazing results of Giovanni's keen sensibility of modelling. The women on the ground in this last relief rivet their gaze to the faces of their babes still writhing in agony. They thrust them savagely from them to examine the wounds, or strain them to their breasts in the shadow.

The faces of mothers half-hidden in their flying hair, the mad eyes riveted to the little victims, the ferocious grimaces as of wild beasts defending their young, the impetuous rush of the prophetess Anna hurling herself at the tyrant, protesting at the wickedness of the massacre, all these details go to make this dramatic scene one of the



PERUGIA. FOUNTAIN IN THE PIAZZA DEL DUOMO

PERUGIA.
UPPER PART OF THE FOUNTAIN

cruellest ever conceived by art, even the art in favour at the time when Dante was writing the *Divina Commedia*. There is sinuous play of light and shade amongst the complications of the relief; the figures stand out from the background with the flickering movement of torches. Sometimes the lines are abrupt and angular as in the figure of the Saviour rising from a pilaster amongst busts of prophets and cherubic heads, sometimes gently curving under the soft flow of tunics with the pliability of rushes, as, for example, in the incense-bearing deacon. Three horses' heads in profile watching over the sleeping Magi are endowed with muscles of steel strained to breaking-point, their eyes are dilated and press out from the orbits. As in the Paduan Madonna, the whole cut of the features in these reliefs is sharper and more incisive than in the primitive works. The eyes that in the fountain-statues of Perugia were sunk in the head under overhanging arched brows immersed in an inky shade — compare the typical example of the Archangel Michael in the archaeological museum of that town — now become longer, and take on a kind of fluid life within the encircling lids; they look somewhat shrivelled as though consumed with fever.

The prophets in the spandrels that Niccolò used to carve stern and grave, exactly within the space of the curvilinear triangle, now leap out with the same elastic vigour found in the winding scrolls. The bristling lion-heads rise up over the cornice, convulsed with rage. The Sibyls on the capitals seem to give ear to the angels with the same shrinking humility that is associated with the Virgin hearing her tremendous tidings from the divine messenger. They are overcome with the first foreboding of ill, they are moved with still more violent emotion on each succeeding pedestal; terror-stricken figures twist themselves into contortions, heads are sunk between shoulders, eyes open wide with terror, backs tremble at the light touch of an angel's hand. Two figures under the cornice are similarly engaged in a kind of pursuit, but with a swifter and more agitated movement than the neighbouring group. The Sibyl hurls herself backwards out of her seat as she feels the fiery breath of the angel, and with such violence that it arrests our horrified

Padua.
Chapel of the Scrovegni

Pisa.
Sacristy of the Cathedral
(ivory)

Madonna and Child by Giovanni Pisano

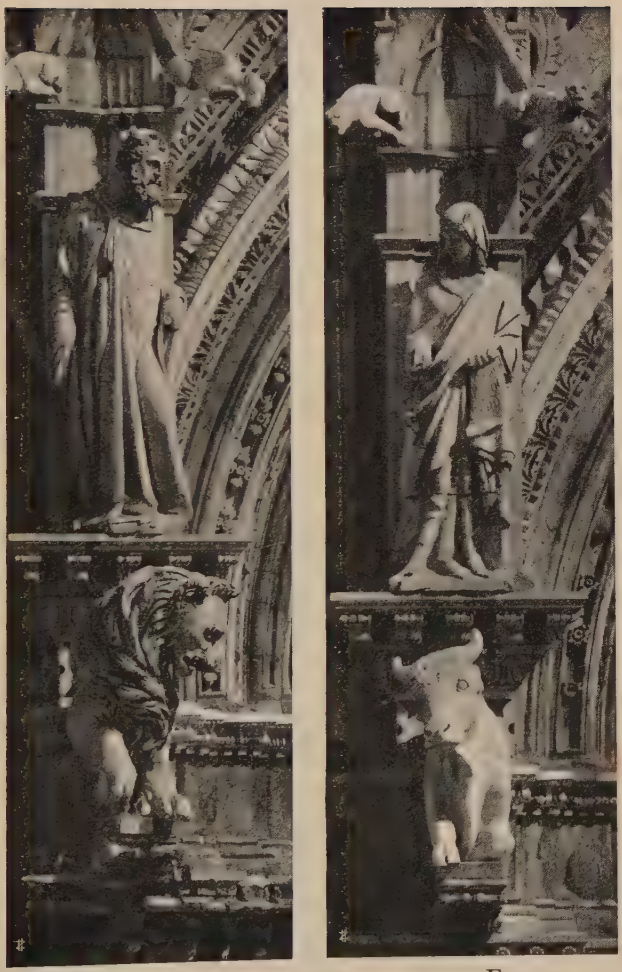
attention, as in the case of the Madonna and Child. Most agitated of all, one of the prophets receives the awful words of the messenger and cries them aloud as he leaps into space.

In the Pisan pulpit, partly destroyed by a fire, the marble vegetation climbs about the sides, suffocating and concealing the essential framework, so that monumental dignity is sacrificed to the picturesque. Groups of statues between base and capital take the place of columns; other fourfold groups reinforce the pedestals bearing aloft their statues in triumph. Out of these forests of statues appear roaring lions, the double crowns of leaves on the capitals move in the wind like flames, the distinct restless figures of the reliefs break out into space from the parapet with no regard to architectural restraint. Niccolò's compact, smooth stone is here cleft and shattered. Sculptural forms release themselves from architectural thraldom and predominate in their turn. Scrolls and projecting leaves impart the elasticity of their own curves to the stairway, and become as much a vital framework as the statues of the prophets in their shadowy niches.

Despite the partial abandonment of some of the execution to his assistants, Giovanni Pisano's art is still evident in all its greatness in the fragments of relief that are used in the decoration of the pulpit. Gothic energy is accentuated, detaching the reliefs from the background and increasing the *chiaroscuro*. There is continuous use of the drill; in places the passionate contraction of faces makes them grotesque grimaces; heads begin to have enormous proportions.

The Nativity at Pistoia has a greater co-ordination of movement. Here there are brief, rapid effects of oscillation and a broken tremble of light and shade around the open cave in the centre (as though the radiant tremulous smile of the angel finds an answer in the carved rocks), in the movement of angels about the grotto, in the lively gesture of fear made by the Child, trembling with cold.

In the Nativity at Pisa the figures of this work carved in relief are just like little statues; episodes are isolated and empty spaces are more frequent. Anna does not draw



SIENA. CATHEDRAL: DETAIL OF THE FAÇADE

cautiously and timidly near to Mary, but their arms clasp and question before they come together, their heads strain to each other, a glance flashes from eye to eye; their violent meeting produces a kind of scintillation. The same characters appear again in the panel, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. The grotto opens on one side fringed with rocks as with a wrinkled canopy. The smiling Virgin and the Child look at one another by the banks of a wide stream, they are no longer connected by sinuous drapery or the slender thread of coverlet or mantle; the Child's cradle is hung from the rock over space. Because he is less concerned with the continual undulation that used to fill his spaces and connect the characters, the sculptor is able to simplify drapery and allow it to adhere more closely to the figures. He studies the delicate smoothness of skin, the soft down of the hair; witness the admirable figure of the maid-servant drawing back as she plunges her hand in the water, and the tiny Child dragged back with her, with ruffled hair, dark eyes and round head as of a little lion.

Notwithstanding the probability of his having had assistance, the *Massacre of the Innocents* is one of the most inspired of Giovanni's creations. Every figure in that desperate insane crowd is a miniature statue detached from a flat base, separated from its neighbours by clefts of shadow, individual; every figure is like an angry wave breaking out of the background; it is the most daring example of the independence of relief. The infernal scene achieves a gloomier reality than the Pistoian pulpit by the intensity of its shadows. The impetuous action of Herod's arm held aloft like a banner unfurled in the wind gives the starting signal for the butchery, and the scene is turned into a madman's vision by the disjointed bodies, the wild disorder of the colliding groups and the convulsive laughter of the women. Out of the crowd appear grotesque ruffianly faces, hideous grinning masks of demented mothers, the tortured bodies of babes. All these figures are carved with a superb flourish; particularly notice the old woman with extended arms and body leaping forward like a tiger, or the young man with

fingers glued to his face to shut out the horrible scene, or the mother who thrusts back her dead child's head the better to gaze on his wounds, or the woman running through the throng with her baby's face clutched to her own. This impassioned contemporary of Dante never created a greater or more dramatic work of art than these convulsed groups of mothers and children. Nothing could be more dramatic than the writhing woman on the right of the throne who, seeing her little son in the power of one of the executioners, shrinks back into her cloak clutched spasmodically in her hands, and stares at him as in a nightmare. The terrible heartrending gesture of the mother witnessing the blow about to fall on her infant is one of the most poignant notes of the discord created by this group of savage figures let loose from their gloomy dens.

The bas-relief of the *Elect* is divided into three parts, the first is of the Apostles seated above the clouds escorted by an archangel towards a Vision of Christ that should decorate the corner-piece, the last, of figures in the act of rising from the earth at the resurrection. The groups dissolve and rise from the ground, and the movement becomes more animated towards the place where the Vision should be, that is to say, from top to bottom and from left to right. The upward movement diminishes as it spreads and ascends. The emphatic curve of the saint leading the second company and raising the people in flight behind her is continued by a chain of arms, heads and bodies covered in shroud-like robes.

Most admirable of all these figures for its soaring impetus is that of a woman in the act of gripping the wrist of one of the kneeling Chosen; behind the swelling drapery her raised arm points insistently towards the ray of glory. The animating spirit of Giovanni Pisano's sculpture is alive in this figure, at once rooted to the earth by her twisted garments and at the same time uplifted by her vigorous effort; she billows with the wind of her passage, and is full of the great cry with which she raises the people to follow her in one heroic rush; symbol of revolution and war unsurpassed even by Rubens in his swirling crowds. There is a great difference in execution between this work and Giovanni Pisano's

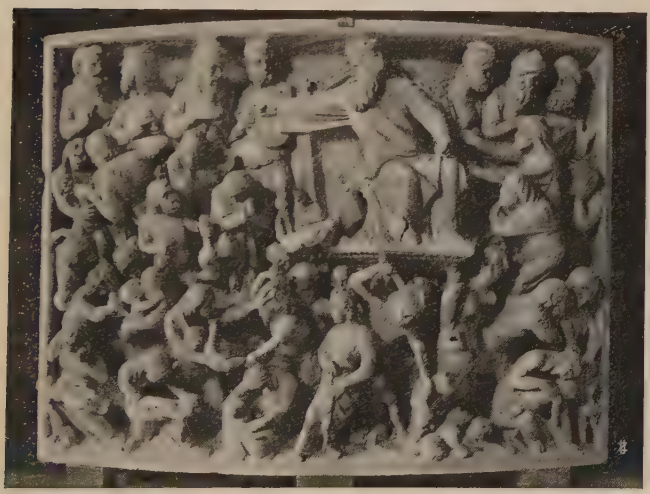
earlier creations, a difference to be seen in the rough modelling, the sketchy drapery, the increased use of the drill, the contraction of main lines, the squint that lends a fixed, almost obsessed look to the faces of his figures.

The panel of the Condemned shows an even greater ardour. Here the smallness of the figures, their contortions, the grimaces of their mask-like faces contrive to create an effect as of devilish violence. The grotesque "*imperador del doloroso regno*" is seated in the lower corner of the square, whilst from the opposite corner above troop the oblique lines of a delirious mob.

The Sienese and Pistoian angels struggle singly with the damned thrusting them back, but here they hurl themselves against the demons; they overthrow, and are overthrown by, the impetus of the crowd that floods down like a sea that has broken the dykes. This unity of movement is so magnificent that one scarcely notices the fine details of the wild billowing rush, the elegance of the graceful forms of the nymph with the diadem, or of the men thrown to the serpents trailing their limbs in the void. Each group is a wave following another wave, growing in fury as they fall; witness the angel victoriously and ferociously overriding the routed mob, or the three little figures crouched on one curved rock that is about to be precipitated; or the two unfortunates snatched up by a flying devil who is hurtling down with them to the abyss, with his lean arms raised above their shrieking faces like rapacious wings. The angels break through the crowd with the fire of their rage, they hurl themselves furiously into the fray amidst the diabolic surging of a sea of forms.

These bas-reliefs, inspired by a kind of feverish delirium, are placed above a host of grouped statues that raise the pulpit-balustrade from the ground. The funereal figure of Christ, now in the Berlin Museum, once dominated this population of spectres from its place on the reading-desk. The shroud is held up by two sentinel angels with sorrowful eyes who frame the figure with their sinuous arms as with knotted branches. Amongst the throng of statues surrounding the exquisite group of the three

Pisa. The Condemned (Giovanni Pisano)



Pisa. Museo Civico. The Massacre of the Innocents (Giovanni Pisano)

theological Virtues, the three cardinal Virtues once rose proudly up to form a pedestal for a statue of the Earth.

None of Giovanni Pisano's many followers knew how to reproduce that powerful energy and restlessness of thought that animates his statues with passion and life. Niccolò d'Apulia gave a Roman dignity to his creations, his great descendant gave them the vigour of living souls. In the work of the younger, the classical forms dwindled and lost solemnity, but worked and pierced with the drill, contorted, they were transfigured with new life. Sacred scenes lost their hieratic limitations and became popular drama; they became crowded with a tumult of characters, characters that show themselves in the shadow of doubt, the prey of grief, overthrown by Destiny. Hercules, Paris, Juno, the Naiades underwent a metempsychosis and lived again amongst these tempestuous scenes: the prophets, like legendary wizards from deep caverns, appeared once again in the nightmare of the end of the world. It was from the troubled depths of his own spirit that Giovanni Pisano drew the new art that was to be stamped with the mark of sorrow for centuries, although it was Gothic art that contributed the typical bodily contractions and convulsions.

Gothic architecture was begun by Giovanni Pisano with a sculptural richness of encrustation, and a great movement of shadows amongst the twinings of undisciplined foliage, in the recesses of ogive loggias and of the pierced quadrilobes, in the spiral cornices, amongst the animated masses of the statue groups. It persists throughout the fourteenth century and finds a magnificent climax in the inspired art of Jacopo della Quercia. With him it is imbued with an Etruscan energy that finds an echo in Michelangelo, the eternal culminating height of the Italian epic.

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The heritage of Niccolò d'Apulia is transmitted to the fourteenth century by Giovanni Pisano and Arnolfo di Cambio. They use the new instrument to found a new art, the former creating effects of movement, the latter a formal elegance. Arnolfo, with a typically Tuscan sense of rhythm, gives us examples of crystal-clear form at the height of the

Viterbo. Church of San Francesco. Monument to Hadrian V, Cosmatesque Style

Orvieto. Church of San Domenico. Monument of the Cardinal Guglielmo de Braye (Arnolfo)

Gothic period; he is plastic, a carver, a turner, he loves schematic structure and polished surfaces. Giovanni masses his shadows, breaking up his compositions with them, and imbues the whole with restless life.

Arnolfo di Cambio, a pupil by the way of Niccolò d'Apulia, with whom he collaborated together with Giovanni Pisano in the Sienese pulpit, was born at Colle di Val d'Elsa. After he had left Siena he probably came to Rome, where he was in the service of King Charles I of Anjou. In 1296 he came to Florence and made preparations to design the Cathedral of Santa Reparata and build the palace of the *Signoria*, but time was not granted him for these things, and he died on the 8th of March, 1302.

Arnolfo determines the type of the mediaeval tomb with his monument of Hadrian V in San Francesco at Viterbo. Before his day, the Cosmati had constructed sepulchral monuments with the utmost bareness and simplicity, they set the sarcophagus on a plinth and placed a pent roof over it; very rare are examples with a superimposed *loggetta* on columels. Hadrian's tomb, on the other hand, is a little building in itself, a complete shrine on twisted columns. Two bases (an ample plinth and a tall marble coffin-case) support a second coffin like an altar, surrounded as it is with spiral columns; these hold up the funeral couch on which lies the figure of the Pope dressed in a pontifical cloak. The slender framework of the monument is quite Gothic, so are the short superimposed columns, the three-lobed arches curved with reed-like flexibility, the acute-angled pediment; but it is a slenderness without impetuosity. In the whole work one notes, despite the rich polychromy, that rhythm typical of Arnolfo; the geometric discipline of the ornament brings out the unity of the architectural organism. The statue of the Pope is a wonderful example of Arnolfo's sculpture, the strips of opaque gold on the pillow, the golden stoles that make a cross on the breast, the jewelled line of the tiara succeed in calling attention to the formal scheme of slender folds drawn tightly over the stiff body. The rigid silken hems are folded like wings with absolute symmetry, the hands are

crossed, the stuff is wrinkled over the stiff feet, the severely decorated cope wraps the body as in a sheath, within the shell of the mitre the oval head with sealed eyes rests on a cushion adorned with stripes and circlets of gold. The perfect cohesion of all its component parts makes this Viterbo monument one of the most significant examples of Arnolfo's refined style.

A few dismembered remnants are all that remain to us of another fine monument, that of Annibaldi, now half in the cloister and half in the church of San Giovanni Laterano. The statue of the defunct raised up from his couch by a high pillow is in the Church. The rigid shoulders are turned away from the wall, the torso is encased in a tight robe. Through the stylistic convention of inert lines, a searching after reality is obvious in the bunching of the folds converging by the pressure of the arms, in the robust vigour of the noble features overshadowed by death. Within the mortuary chamber the short procession of priests once wended its way against a wall decorated with mosaics like starry embroidery, but this portion is now in the cloister. The realistic tendency of Arnolfo's art is affirmed by this bringing of the funeral ceremony to the dead prelate's tomb-chamber. One of the clergy carries the insignia of the bishop, who is intently reading prayers out of a book borne by a caryatid in the form of a novice fashioned as a pilaster by the abundant folds of its draperies; another immerses a sprinkler in holy water in order to bless the body; another puffs at the embers of the censer. At the sides two torch-bearers, like stiff torches themselves, fixed to the pavement, form an unexpected contrast of vertical lines against the gracefully treated curves of the central figures. In this monument, as elsewhere, Arnolfo uses mosaic in the Florentine manner to throw statues and architectural framework into relief against a dark background; he gives an essentially structural significance to the decoration.

The complicated monument to the Cardinal de Braye in San Domenico at Orvieto is a towering graduated structure. The curtains of the couch are drawn back by angels to reveal the statue of the dead man, as in Cardinal Annibaldi's tomb.

A complete edifice rests on the ceiling of the couch-recess bearing aloft in triumph figures of the Virgin and Child. The structure ascends in a steep stairway whose steps are graced with statues of the Saints Paul and Dominic in small lateral niches. The former is a sharp figure in profile within delicate sheath-like robes. St. Paul clasps another figure of the defunct and the stiff folds of their garments unite the two in a linear continuity. The niche of the Madonna and Child in its marble fixity of form is typical of Arnolfo's sense of balance. The narrow arch, exactly surrounding the throne, the Virgin's sturdy neck and cylindrical head, the hand resting on a sphere give the balanced synthetic composition an appearance of a work by Antonelli at the height of the Gothic period. The balls on the throne-arms have their counterpart on the Madonna's throne in Vienna. And how wonderfully the Child achieves balance by leaning back and by holding the closed book firmly set on his knee!

The last of the series of Arnolfo's sepulchral monuments, almost all incomplete, alas, is the tomb of Boniface VII in the *Grotte Vaticane*, and this we can partly reconstruct with the help of Ciampini's drawing. It faced the altar of Saint Boniface, a simple square shrine bristling with little pinnacles. The disposition of the funeral-pall and the synthetic composition of the statue of Boniface stretched out on the couch asleep on embroidered cushions bring out Arnolfo's elegant sobriety of workmanship. His charming fantasy is to be seen in the angels at the sides of the tomb gazing with eyes of wonder. No later Gothic monument has produced the billowing outlines of these angel curtain-drawers, modelled on the sweep of the festoon itself. Giovanni Pisano has conceived the tomb of Margaret of Luxembourg on the same lines as Arnolfo's monuments, but in the body of the defunct slipping from the hands of the angels he has expressed a sense of violent rebellion rather than of death. He gives a sense of struggle in the tense curtains held by menacing heralds; and the struggle is fiercest on the plane of the sarcophagus, where the woman rising from the dead regards her liberators with an air of challenge. The

ROME. S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA. CIBORIUM OF ARNOLFO

ROME. SANTA CECILIA. DETAIL OF THE CIBORIUM

Pope on Arnolfo's sarcophagus, on the other hand, expresses the real abandon of death. The body is pressed to the couch by its own weight, the eyelids are sealed, the puffy face is enclosed within the tight-fitting shell of the tiara — stone on stone, an inert trunk, inorganic as the marble block on which it rests.

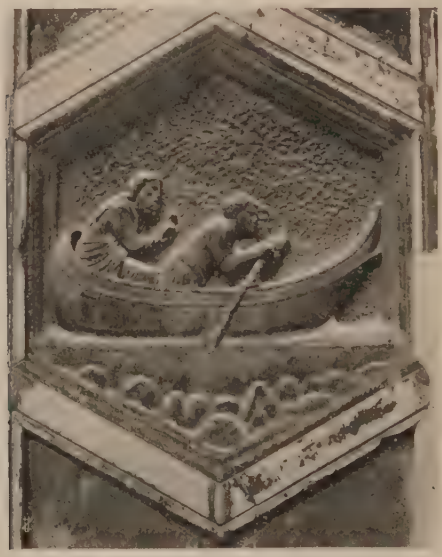
The characteristics of Arnolfo's *ciboria* can be studied in the Presepe chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore. With perfect symmetry the figures of the two prophets are bent within the brackets of the entrance archway, the elder with the bony head of a wizard, the younger head covered with curls; with perfect symmetry the scrolls unfold their flourishes against a dark background. With a subtle sense of rhythm the sharp folds of the garments bend in arcs radiating from the curve of the figures. Of the ancient Presepe itself only the statuettes of the Magi and of St. Joseph remain. The latter is rubbed over with pumice and, at a later date, has been polished, but the ecstasy of its devout attitude, increased by the gesture of the hands crossed on the staff, marks it clearly as Arnolfo's work. The *Magi* are equally restrained in their attitudes, especially the old man with his hand on a vase of perfume, shrinking almost as with cold, and the other kneeling before the Virgin, so curved as to be like a concave shell deposited at the Child's feet. These tiny statuettes within their little grotto, frozen with the winter cold, provide still more examples of Arnolfo's remarkable stylistic power, that petrifaction of forms almost incomprehensible in Gothic art, especially when contrasted with the fiery creations of Giovanni Pisano. The art of the two Tuscan masters, rising from the same source, that is to say, from the sturdy classical constructions of Niccolò d'Apulia, diverges in opposite directions. Giovanni travels by a high-road, but Arnolfo takes a less-frequented path, for his secret is in refinement of style and a calm sense of proportion.

The *ciboria* in the churches of San Paolo and Santa Cecilia provided models for the Cosmatesque sculptors as well as the sepulchral monuments we have described. In the one in San Paolo the *tiburio* rests on four porphyry columns supporting three-lobed arches flanked with columns,

FLORENCE. BAPTISTERY: BRONZE DOOR (A. PISANO)

FLORENCE. BAPTISTERY: BRONZE DOOR (A. PISANO)

between which are Gothic niches containing statues of Saints. On the cornice above every arch rises a triangular pediment pierced by a rose window; four Gothic pinnacles flank the pediments, and in the centre rises a lesser shrine decorated with pyramidal spires and slender turrets. The Gothic spirit that inspires the vigorous throw of the arches



FLORENCE. CAMPANILE
(GIOTTO AND A. PISANO)

and the slenderness of the framework is here combined with the careful Arnolfian proportion.

The details are most delicate; the flexible arch picked out by a mosaic border; the little niches for the statues scooped out like nut-shells; the capitals covered with realistic floral ornament; ivy, vine-tendrils, water-flowers that clothe the bell with fantastic embroidery; the fragile little square turrets. The complicated subdivisions reveal a fineness of profile, a wealth of mosaic and a clarity of com-

position. Giovanni's heroic energy is here replaced by a delicate grace of outline.

Whilst in the Cosmatesque canopy in Santa Maria in Cosmedin the balls are rammed down on the points of the pinnacles, cutting them off short and lowering them, in this work they seem to stretch and set a culminating point to the

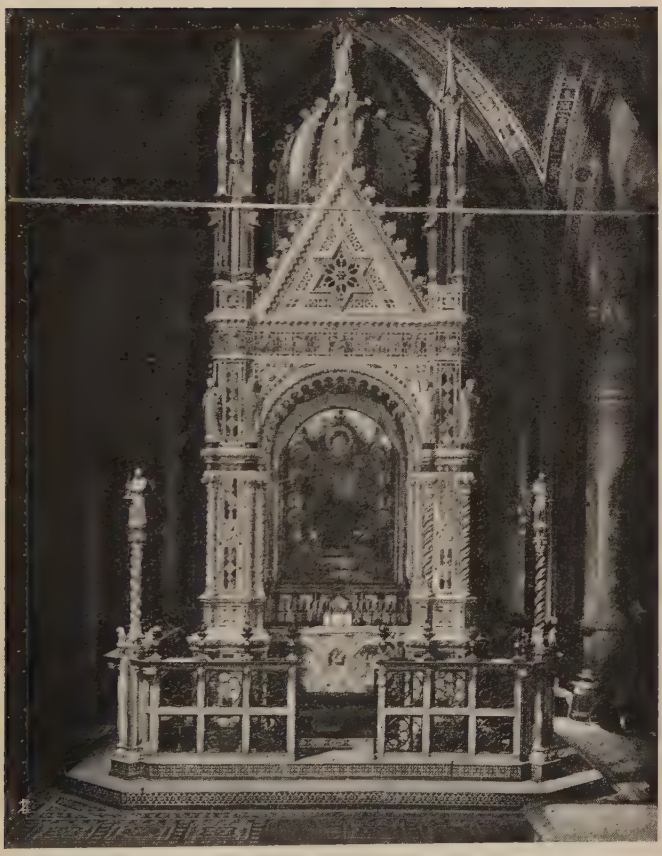
FLORENCE. CAMPANILE
(GIOTTO AND A. PISANO)

airy turrets and the cusps of the Gothic pinnacles. The statues of Saints that sit at the edge of the niches act as pilasters and architectural framework, the figures in the spandrels (Adam and Eve — Cain and Abel — two prophets — the abbot Bartolomeo in the act of offering Arnolfo's shrine to San Paolo), the flying angels supporting the rose windows of the pediments against a starry sky; all these details are perfectly in harmony with the architecture. A tendency towards the vertical, a certain stiffness in the sculpture, the effect of garments chopped neatly off at the bottom hem as

though by an axe produce a profound stillness of form. The figures in the spandrels are more graceful and delicate, witness the way in which the trembling Abel shivers inside his light clothes at the chill in the air, like one of Masolino's neophytes at a Baptism.

The ostentation of glittering gold, evidently accentuated by regilding, lends a somewhat noisy splendour to the exterior, especially in comparison with the sober colours within. There, figures of animals in white stones, stags, peacocks, pelicans, unicorns, sea-lions, eagles, lambs, are cleverly arranged like white cameos on a dark background and are all enclosed by circles edged with strings of coral, linked together by slim-handled vases. These mosaics were made by *socio Petro* following, in all probability, the suggestions of Arnolfo and adopting the Tuscan black and white decoration. The Gothic vault of the *tiburio* is decorated in the Roman style by square panels with white quadrifoils. The four main ribs meet in a great rose with twisted leaves, whose golden calyx fixes the centre of a Greek cross formed by the busts of four angels. The severe Roman type of these angels, features roughly carved, eyes still and wide, mouths tenaciously closed, is repeated in the two standing on the *abacus* of the capitals where the ribs begin. The way in which contact with Roman artists stimulates a taste in Arnolfo for the massive, and the ancient breadth of design, is to be noted in the ponderous heads of his figures and in the heavy bulk of the overhanging leaves. There is a continuity of line between the tips of the stretched wings on each side of the rigid heads and the robust climbing foliage, violently raised up to fall again in soft motionless bunches. The folds of the garments, carved in stiff ridges like the veins of leaves, follow the light ruffling pressure of a chain, or bend at the contact of a censer brushing against the vestment; realistic touches by which the sculptor creates subtle and restrained decorative effects.

Arnolfo's Gothic imagination, that created the Tortoise-figure in the archaeological museum of Perugia, of the angel curtain-drawers of the *Grotte Vaticane*, expands to the full in a most fascinating way in the down-flying figures of the two



FLORENCE. OR SAN MICHELE. THE TABERNACLE

remaining angels that follow the curves of the arches shaking censers to purify the altar. The effect is accentuated by the contrasting immobility and solemnity of the two standing angels. The quick downward swoop like a jet of water spreading as it falls on the slope, the motion of the bodies expanding upwards from the wing-tips and from the points of the restless feet fitly correspond to the canopy's expansion amongst the slender arches.

The Arnolfian *ciborium* is to be recognised by its imaginative richness, slimness of soaring outline and complicated *intaglio* work, and, as such, it was an example for the Cosmati. All his *ciboria* are akin, from the one in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, pure and simple in form, to the latest of them, that ingenious edifice of complicated corner and battlemented cornices, far removed from the first precious model, the tabernacle in San Giovanni Laterano.

The boldness of outline is less in the *ciborium* in Santa Cecilia, that is, more Roman and less pointed and slender. The Gothic fibres of the fragile lofty architecture in San Paolo become tougher; the wide interval between the mottled black and white columns attenuates the lift to the point of the arches, which trace a fuller and more sedate circle between their points of thrust. The arch, therefore, approaches the full round; the shortened pediment acquires a triangular Renaissance shape in the midst of its Gothic pinnacles; triumphal garlands suspended from the arches by ribbons tone down the supple graduation of the earlier style. The structure of the turrets is more complicated than in San Paolo. Instead of being square, they are prisms made up of superimposed cusps. The central pinnacle is gay and light with filigree and festooned spires; the canopy is delicately supported on four slender shafts. A certain contrast between two opposing ideals of rest and movement is caused by the change of the old base and by the modification of Arnolfo's studied effect in the elevation of the bronze cornice of the Santa Cecilia tomb from the surface of the altar. But the impression of grandeur and nobility in the triumphal canopy on its light bases is greater than at San Paolo, the architectural organisation better. The

NAPLES. SANTA CHIARA.
DETAIL OF THE MONUMENT TO KING ROBERT THE WISE

NAPLES. SANTA CHIARA. RELIEF BY TINO DA CAMAINO

realistic leaves in the capitals of San Paolo are here repeated spreading upwards, determining the wide shape of the capitals with their own design. The entablature of the *ciborium*, protruding neatly from the corners, forms a regal canopy for the statues in their classical draperies. Carving conforms strictly to architectural organism; Valerian's horse, for example, although designed on the ancient type of Marcus Aurelius' equestrian statue, is transformed and deformed by compressions and elongations so that it can fit in with the general vertical plan; the impressive figures of Cecilia and Urbano are as perpendicular as pilasters. And so it is with the martyr wrapped round in heavy cloth of gold, and head proudly lifted under the weight of a crown of roses and rich Oriental pendants in the habiliments of a Byzantine Empress, dumbly gazing before her with an ambiguous smile; the Pope flattened against the wall of his niche like a dead man on a tombstone.

The last-mentioned statuette we would record as one of the best things Arnolfo ever did; not so much for the skill obvious in the flaccid skin and the vague clouded eyes, but for the co-ordinated movement in the swaying figure, the symmetrical folds of the cope yoked between the arms, the hands raised in perfect balance against the breast holding a rose between the curved fingers and extended in blessing. An equally fine sense of style can be observed in the folds of the cloak that spread from the wide golden band of the stole like vertebrae, and in the lines of the wizened face falling from mouth to neck like the corrugations of a piece of bark.

In the spandrels, as in San Paolo fuori le Mura, two angels support the roses, not, however, hovering in flight, but kneeling, owing to the cramped space of the triangle, with open wings to balance the circle of the window. The interior is not so rich as in the earlier *ciboria* in which the ribs were joined by a great rose with leaves twisted like a tulip. The exterior, however, is more sumptuous, the *ciborium* bearing a rich canopy over the pomp and majesty of the altar. The Italian tendency to discipline the lifting effect of perpendicular lines by means of horizontal, and the Italian fondness

for the square is to be observed in the sharp precise projecting entablatures and *abaci*. Gothic art slumbers in the repose of the wider arches.

In the *ciborium* of Santa Cecilia, in Santa Maria del Fiore and in the Palazzo Vecchio, the architecture of Arnolfo seems to presage the Renaissance at the height of the Gothic period. It finds its best commentary in Leon Battista Alberti's flattering eulogy of the *Duomo* of Florence, the Arnolfian Santa Reparata. "A temple combining both grace and majesty and having that, which I have often considered and found pleasure in, namely, a charming gaiety linked with robust solidity, so that I observe every detail designed to give pleasure and yet I know that all is built for eternity."

In Rome Arnolfo had in the Cosmati admirers who servilely repeated the designs they learnt from him. In Pisa itself, however, at Florence and Siena, Giovanni's art developed freely and naturally.

Andrea Pisano was originally an obscure goldsmith, who in old age suddenly became famous for the commission he obtained in 1330 to make the first door of the Florentine Baptistery. In the bronze bas-reliefs of this door (the story of John the Baptist), he proves that he had already completely assimilated Gothic style and mastered the representation of movement. He tends to simplify and clarify the story by reducing the crowd that used to fill Giovanni's stormy bas-reliefs to a few composed groups. He respects the unity and the interconnection of the various scenes to a far greater degree than his predecessors. Within the carved frames decorated with lobes and pointed angles the proportion and balance of his figures are perfect. The finely modelled forms are, despite their fulness, carved with a goldsmith's delicacy: San Giovannino as a child in the desert, Salome with short curling hair and flowing robe, like one of Beato Angelico's figures, are amongst the most exquisitely graceful examples of fourteenth-century sculpture.

No other sculptor forestalled Andrea Pisano in this fundamental reform in composition; there was, however, a

painter — Giotto. The beginning of marble bas-reliefs for the tower of S. Maria del Fiore at Florence is a proof of this assertion. Amongst the finest of these are the *Arte della Navigazione*, with seamen bent to the oars, their eyes looking far over the waters, the *Theatrica*, with panting horses and classical charioteer, the *Agricoltura*, full of the effort of ploughmen and straining oxen. The variety of

Orvieto. Museo dell' Opera
(Nino Pisano)

these various movements is admirably balanced, and grouped round the great gnarled tree that forms the centre. After Giotto's death, the bas-relief tradition begun by him was continued by Andrea.

It was Andrea Pisano, then, who spoke the new word in sculpture after Giovanni. He was followed by Andrea Orcagna the Florentine (1328–1368), an architect, painter, sculptor, poet, all in one. This artist, already leaning towards the realism of the next century, took Andrea's composition

and made it heavier, more compact, more profound, in his tabernacle of Or San Michele at Florence. Orcagna does not tie up his figures, on the contrary he is loath to compress them within the narrow spaces at his disposal. He tends to simplify, to enlarge his figures, to give fulness to the faces, breadth to the garments. His mimicry is more vivacious than Andrea Pisano's: in the annunciation of the Virgin's death the lips and hands are most eloquent, in the *Solertia* the attitude of the finger on the lips, in the sign of silence, is open, clear and animated, in striking contrast with the timid, profoundly humble figure in the *Virginità*. Orcagna is not a restless spirit always striving for novelty, he is an experienced, sound, laborious master-craftsman. In the representation of a solemn scene, like that of the Assumption, he remembered that he was a mosaic-worker as well as a sculptor, when he wished to get more dazzling effects with a starred blue enamel background. He arranged bas-reliefs and mosaic with the skill of an architect in his tabernacle, that work admirable both for the harmony of its parts and the majesty of its Gothic style. The angels adore Mary, singing, playing and in ecstasy, on the pilasters of the *tiburio;* along the friezes, on the cusps, prophets, patriarchs and the Blessed intone hymns of praise. This sacred song rises from the shimmer of mosaics, the flash of gold and the pure whiteness of marbles. Stars glitter up and down the twisted columns, in brocades, stoles and fringes; the firmament shines in the canopy.

Outside Florence, the Gothic continues to inspire sculpture, intent as it is on refining Giovanni Pisano's typical forms. Andrea's son, Nino, contents himself with perfecting the charming smile of his Madonnas. He is the chief diffuser of the Pisan style, first on account of the popularity of his Madonna statuettes, and secondly for his monument in Venice to the Doge Marco Cornaro.

Giovanni di Balduccio, also a Pisan, introduced excellent specimens of the style to the masters of Campione and Como, with his monuments at Sarzana and Genoa, and with the tomb of St. Peter Martyr in Sant' Eustorgio at Milan.

Whilst Giovanni's Pisan followers conquered the north of Italy, those in Siena conquered the south. Tino da Camaino, a Sienese, works at Pisa, Siena, Florence and Naples, giving of his best in the bas-reliefs of the life of Saint Catherine in the church of Santa Chiara in that city. Lorenzo Maitani creates delicate bas-reliefs of Old

Milan. Sant' Eustorgio. Tomb of St. Peter Martyr (Giovanni di Balduccio da Pisa, 1399)

and New Testament scenes amongst the refined embroidery of curling vine tendrils on the façade of the *Duomo* of Orvieto. Goro di Gregorio at Messina, Agostino and Agnolo di Ventura, Gano and many others spread the Pisan style throughout all Italy, when at Florence it had been already reformed.

The second half of the *Trecento* reveals a new tendency, rough and unshaped, but still a sincere striving after reality.

This movement is to be found amongst the Veronese sculptors and above all in the Venetians, Jacobello and Pier Paolo delle Masegne. Through the work of Giovannino de' Grassi, the painter and miniaturist, Jacopino da Tradate and Mattia Raverti, sculpture in Lombardy intensifies its realistic character and tends to carry Gothic complication of ornamentation to unnatural paroxysm. To this fourteenth-century style must be connected many early fifteenth-century works: in San Petronio at Bologna, the Doge's palace of Venice, Milan Cathedral, Baboccio's works at Naples, and those of the conservatives in Florence itself. Notable amongst these artists is Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti, the sculptor of the so-called *Porta della Mandorla* in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore.

# IV

# ITALIAN PAINTING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

# PIETRO CAVALLINI AND GIOTTO. PAINTING IN THE 14TH CENTURY

ROME, THE DREAM OF THE WORLD, UNFURLED THE BANNER of a new art with Pietro Cavallini, and this in the age of Dante. Rome was the first of cities, even taking precedence of the Italian Athens, Florence. She kept alive the spark of a national life, and was filled with the leaven of her ancient tradition, and at the approach of the tumultuous *Trecento* she was the leader in art. The herald of the new world was Pietro Cavallini, and he it was who inspired Giotto. Later, many great artists flocked to Rome and became greater under her influence, but, at the end of the *Dugento*, at the beginning of the *Trecento*, it was a Roman citizen who was the great teacher.

More than any other Roman mosaic worker Cavallini, in the art he had inherited from Rome, achieved a Cosmatesque sense for order and balance in his full, square, vigorous figures. In Santa Maria in Trastevere he decorates the house of Anna in the Birth of the Virgin with bright geometrical friezes. He repeats the design in the edging of the cushion, in the broad gay rhomboids that make such a happy check background behind the grave figure of Anna. Even the little rounded arches cut at the side of the bed remind us of the peace of the Roman cloisters of the thirteenth century and of the geometrical regularity of their mouldings and ornaments, where the straight line and rounded arch continue to hold sway even over Arnolfo himself. The inscription in this mosaic is divided into two white belts, and one intermediate dark belt that forms an ornamental base for the scene. The figures are posed with wonderful spontaneity, and their quiet reflective faces remind us that they come of Roman blood. The advent of a new art is proclaimed by Cavallini both in this masterpiece and in the two panels depicting the story of Isaac at Assisi. He suggests depth in a very simple way, by the zigzag

pilasters behind the water-carrier. Giotto carries the same idea further in the innumerable corners of the walls behind the crowd watching the healing of Drusiana.

Mary's throne in the Annunciation is of a somewhat exaggerated, though strictly geometrical, structure. It is made up of little square and arched shrines one above the other, and of boxes that are placed at the sides of the niche in which the seat is placed. The considered architecture of the pre-Renaissance Roman mosaic-worker finds perfect expression in this complicated erection raised from the square arms of the throne. It gathers deep shadows in its recesses against which the matron-like figure stands out in bold relief.

The coming of the new epoch is to be seen in Cavallini's vivacity of narrative; it is very noticeable in the angel-messenger striding towards the lily-decked chair, and in the life-like attitudes of the expectant angels and the questioning shepherd in the next panel. The thoughtful Joseph, the shepherd blowing his hunting horn with inflated cheeks, even the alert dog stealthily watching the movements of the flock are to be studied from the same point of view. Cavallini inherits across the centuries the tendencies of the Roman artist of the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in his well-arranged Cosmatesque theatre with few figures he arranges his restrained scenes calmly and serenely.

The space round the four solemn figures advancing for the Presentation in the Temple is defined by a small, turreted house, a long parallelopiped striped vertically with friezes and columns and a Cosmatesque *ciborium* of two storeys on tall columns protecting the altar and its splendid cloth with a great canopy. Mary walks majestically to make a sacrifice of doves with her trembling husband Joseph, and Anna the prophetess. The anxious gesture of the old man holding his offering towards the altar as hastening from afar; the humility of the grand old priest who lifts the Child in his arms covered with a mantle, as though it were really a holy thing; the imperious bearing of the sturdy Child who looks of Roman descent; all these details prove Cavallini's powers of narrative.

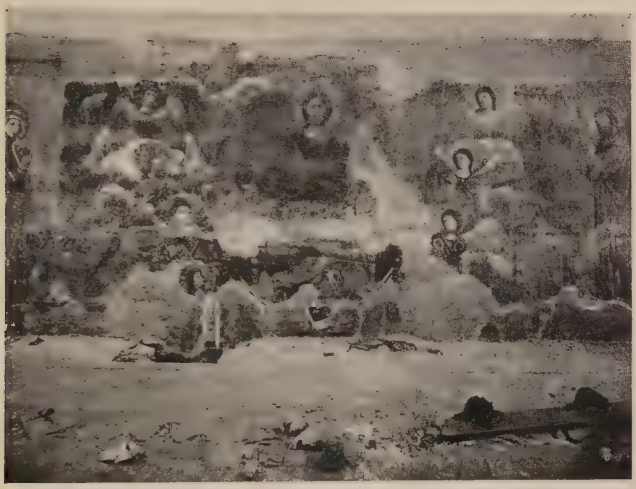
Rome. Santa Maria in Trastevere.
Mosaic (Pietro Cavallini)

+TVO: SVPER CVNCTAS BENEDICTA PVERPERA: SALVE
VIRGVEA QVE SPONSVM HESCIS QVAM GRATIA SALVI
LACTEIS IRRADIAT CELO PARIS ADVE SYDVS

Rome. Santa Maria in Trastevere.
Mosaic (Pietro Cavallini)

The only building in the *Death of the Virgin* is a kind of turret or pilaster at the edge of the crowd, but the composition has a fine majestic architecture of rhythm. Torriti, in his *Death of the Virgin* in Santa Maria Maggiore, places a long row of Apostles at the sides of the funeral couch, and hosts of saints by the side of Christ in an oval frame supported by angels. The lines run from the centre outwards; here we have, in place of plastic composition, a sparkling surface of colours with the old jewelled Byzantine effect. Cavallini defines his space, centralises his composition, groups his figures at the sides, and concentrates his masses in a pre-Giottesque spirit. Arch corresponds to arch from the colonnade formed by the massed Apostles near Mary's bed, to the great festoon formed by the group of Christ and the angels. The latter with their huge iridescent wings make rainbows of radiating feathers against the deep gold. The new liberty of angular movement that Cavallini uses to bring his statuesque figures into prominence, specially in that masterpiece of his the *Birth of the Virgin*, is here seen in the august Roman Christ, turned sideways, with head bending the opposite way. Giotto depicts St. John leaning his head on his hand as he stands near the Cross, Cavallini also supports the drooping head of one of his figures by the right hand. He always contrives to give an effect of varied emotion in the majestic features of his Apostles; some of the group whisper together, some lean anxiously forward towards Peter, weeping on his knees near the bed. Colours disappear in the light and gradually become brighter in the shade, making an alternating *chiaroscuro* that brings out the modelling of the figures. Gold is no longer spread over garments as though on metal tablets, but is woven into brocade and cloth, borrows the splendour of peacocks' feathers to glow in the angels' wings, hems outlines, illumines garments so that the figures harmonise with the background.

The divine Tribunal is grouped in majesty in the lofty frieze of the *Last Judgment* in Santa Cecilia. Christ is in the centre, separated from the throngs of the saints by a great dark nimbus and a shining aureole of angels. Between



ROME. SANTA CECILIA: A FRESCO (PIETRO CAVALLINI)

ROME. SANTA CECILIA: A FRESCO (PIETRO CAVALLINI)

the throne of God and the assembly of Apostles are the Virgin and S. John in supplication. The vertical lines of these figures divide the frieze into equal parts, almost like the divisions of a triptych. The unmoved Apostles, in their antique robes, listening to the judgment of God, sit like Romans on their square massive thrones in the two lateral divisions. The perpendicular line, the uniformity of pose, very

ROME. CONVENT OF SANTA CECILIA
(PIETRO CAVALLINI)

different from the varied attitudes in the mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere, are in accord with the severity of the faces, and they seem to symbolise the passionless grandeur of the divine tribunal, almost the classic impassiveness of Justice, the sovereign unshakable majesty of the judges. Cavallini's art attains a truly Roman strength in the vigour of his forms, in the intensity of the shadows outlining his features, in the heaviness of the broad folds of his garments, august in the fixity of his deep gazing eyes.

Cavallini is the creator of sacred Roman painting of the thirteenth century. He makes use of the light of the churches for his colours, and he succeeds in giving relief to the human figure by graduating light and shade. Christ, the Apostles and the Virgin in the monastery of Santa Cecilia look like Romans, their features are square-cut and their large eyes seem to lighten as it were in the contrast between black

ROME. CONVENT OF SANTA CECILIA
(PIETRO CAVALLINI)

and white. The vivid whites against the shadows lend a new potency to the relief. Daylight, falling from above, shades the silky rose of the wings from silver to purple, the pale green of sea-foam to the hue of deep sea, lilac grey to violet, pale flaxen yellow to vivid orange. There are iridescent splashes as of light in sunlit caves, dim sparkling cascades of feathers that give golden haloes to the angels with their shadowy eyes and jewelled stoles. The mosaic is like a star-lit night. Colour changes under the influence of

sunlight; the green tunic of one of the Apostles turns to rosy red.

What is left to us in the second portion of the Judgment allows us to reconstruct the magnificent arrangement of the Elect on their way to Heaven, and to admire the wonderful brilliance of the three archangels; the fine conception of Michael haloed by the great semicircle of his rainbow wings;

FLORENCE. UFFIZI ALTARPIECE
(CIMABUE)

the monumental grouping of the angel-trumpeters with distended bronze cheeks and robes falling in rich folds picked out by the light.

There is such constructive skill in the details of this mosaic that, studying the complicated folds of Isaac's red tunic and the synthetic curve of his arm, we involuntarily turn our thoughts to Giotto and his St. Clare stooping over the hand of the dead Francis. His Biblical compositions,

now unfortunately only seen clearly in half the mosaic, are enclosed in rectangular marble frames that prove Cavallini to be a follower of the Cosmati. The background effect is obtained by an illusion of spiral columns decorated with imitation mosaic, raised on a double base that the master arranges with a brilliant foreknowledge of perspective effect. Gleams of a new art can be seen in Pietro's monu-

FLORENCE. UFFIZI ALTARPIECE
(GIOTTO)

mental style. The *Jacob Blessed* in San Francesco at Assisi is the first example of that oblique design that Giotto is to develop in his great reform of liberating the human figure from architectural slavery.

In Santa Maria Donna Regina at Naples the fresco of *Paradise* repeats the same design as in the *Assembly of Elders*. In this work, however, the collaboration of assistants has in places robbed the design of the magnificence of Cavallini's art. The representative skill of this pioneer increases still

more at the turn of the century. In the mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the figures achieve plastic definition by their spacing, they throng together in living groups among the buildings of Jerusalem. The soldiers dragging Christ, rushing into Pilate's turreted palace, thrust the people back to right and left, where they wait for their chance to rush out and goad on the weary, tottering prisoner. High above the throng in the background, John and the holy women bend over the fierce soldiers towards the victim. Cavallini's art, so subdued in this Roman work, at Naples approaches the tragic passion of Cimabue's frescoes at Assisi. And whilst in Santa Maria in Trastevere the buildings are but insignificant fragments of Cosmatesque architecture, at Naples they take on substance and reality. The scene is dominated, and the riotous mob is constricted into narrow spaces, by a series of buildings; a church, a square belfry, a great tower studded at the base and pierced by an arch of three divisions typical of Neapolitan Gothic.

Similar windows are found on the front of the vestibule before which is painted the scene of the *Ecce Homo;* the pierced tower with its loggia is repeated on the left; on the right a circular building standing on a hill, bearing a certain resemblance to the concentric circles of the walls of Castel Sant' Angelo, forms the background for a picture of Christ on Calvary. This last scene, however, is only partly painted by Cavallini. In the *Crucifixion* crowd, the armed men and the Christ being hoisted up on to the Cross by three scowling soldiers make a pyramidical design. The ladders, the lances, the stiff arms accentuate the quick rise of the group towards the Cross; a shrill cry seems to rise up to the sky in harmony with this design.

The *Incredulity of St. Thomas* is one of the scenes nearest to Cavallini's art in Rome. Here the figures are collected in vertical groups, as though making room for the Christ who stands like a column in their midst. The chamber, a square box-like room adorned with Cosmatesque friezes, bears a much closer resemblance to Cavallini's undeveloped designs in Santa Maria in Trastevere, and to some of the Assisi frescoes, than the buildings of the other panels.

PADUA. SACRIFICE OF ST. JOACHIM.
SCROVEGNI CHAPEL (GIOTTO)

PADUA. BETRAYAL OF CHRIST.
SCROVEGNI CHAPEL (GIOTTO)

Although the gaze of Christ is overcast and his features are worn with suffering, at the same time there is a calm serenity in the scene that reminds one that Cavallini is essentially a primitive.

In the fresco of S. Agnes the trumpeters, blowing with puffed-out cheeks on their instruments, precede the company of soldiers with the Martyr, recalling the shepherds of the *Nativity* in Santa Maria in Trastevere. The Saint herself, wrapt round in her hair as in a flowing mane, in the shadowy ardour of her face, her full lips and dark eyes, is a figure very similar to the angels with the flaming wings that surround the Christ in the monastery of Santa Cecilia. Nevertheless, in the shadowed eyes there is a fearful agony, similar to that in the eyes of Christ looking at the Incredulous Disciple. The fresco is unforgettable for the deliciously ingenuous representation of a corner of thirteenth-century Rome in the little house picturesquely projecting over the street.

The fierce gravity of Cavallini's Roman faces is enlivened with passionate sorrow in the Neapolitan frescoes; the regal calm of the powerful figures and of the balanced defined faces is perturbed by this breath of agony in the same sort of way as the crowd is crushed in between the towering buildings. The frescoes at Naples reveal the great master in a different aspect from that we have known in his thirteenth-century works. Here, he is striving after the spectacular, after dramatic action and effect, his narrative is nervous and tense, he paints with broad lines and delineates both heavenly and earthly beings with the same severity.

Whilst Cavallini is evoking Roman art in his ample vigorous creations, Cimabue continues the Romanesque tradition. The latter in his *Crucifixion* at Assisi represents the fury of the elements with a new impetus. But in the altarpiece in the Uffizi he spaces the angel hosts carefully round the Virgin's throne. The throne itself he constructs architecturally with a complete succession of concave surfaces and little jewelled pilasters. The throne takes pride of place in the picture for its magnificence and for its lofty height; the fine image of the Virgin retires within it like the reliefs in Romanesque works; angels with bright wings

with Florentine inlay. Giotto worked at Assisi by the side of Roman artists, and he learnt from them in painting his great series of frescoes. A trace of his first visit to Rome is to be found in the fragments taken from the church of Sant' Agnese, now in the Lateran Museum, mutilated and spoilt by unfortunate restoration.

By his independence and the immense importance of his

PADUA. THE GIFT OF THE CHAPEL BY SCROVEGNO. SCROVEGNI CHAPEL (GIOTTO)

artistic revolution Giotto quickly impresses himself on the Roman atmosphere. Pietro Cavallini obtains relief by groups of shadows that, to take an example, swathe the neck and the edges of the cheeks of his figures, accentuating the shape and the vigorous moulding; Giotto feels the value of line and creates broad ample figures firm as granite. Joachim's head as he listens to the angel seems to be lifted up from the prismatic mass of his body as from a rock; the human

figure is a rock itself in a grey desolate landscape. The enthroned Apostles painted by Cavallini at Rome still have something of the mosaic tradition in their long busts with chests thrown out, and in the small lap; plastic form is still indefinite on account of the heavy soft fall of the garments over the knees and round the legs of the seated figures. The Apostles, seated next to Christ in the *Last Judgment* at

Assisi. The Poor Man Spreading his Cloak on the Ground for St. Francis. Basilica of S. Francesco (Giotto)

Padua, like massive stones themselves on their square stone thrones, are modelled from the belt to the knees and from the knees down in simple cubic shape with a solid grandeur. The draperies, that Giotto no longer arranges neatly but full of wide constructive folds, help to produce this synthetic form; one is reminded of the figure of Mary bent over to kiss the hand of the dead Christ, crushed to earth under the shell of her robe that only by a few wrinkles suggests the slant

of the shoulders. None of Giotto's figures surpass this one that is among the greatest examples of plastic synthesis. The unity of the body is Giotto's greatest revelation; it is the announcement of the *stil nuovo* in painting.

Although importance of each object in itself detached from the background, although the architecture of every detail is the essence of Giotto's art, his greatness is also obvious in his composition.

In the *Last Judgment* in Santa Cecilia, Cavallini, still tied to mosaic tradition, arranges the figures of Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles in a belt confined by two parallel lines; it is the old hieratic tradition; he separates the Tribunal from those called in judgment, he gives the divine assembly the inflexible majesty and isolation of justice herself; the tumult of the crowds dragged along by angels and demons and of trumpeters blowing the réveillé is placed below this horizontal belt; the groups of the Apostles hardly reach the figure of Christ.

At Naples the faces are less impressive and the arrangement of the scene more complicated. The lines of the Apostles on thrones and the legions of prophets carrying unfolded scrolls approach Christ diagonally; the lower groups, very much diminished in size in the archaic manner, make a diagonal in the opposite direction; processions of the Blessed stride along in a gentle curve; the directions in the picture are continually changing without any organic co-ordination, perhaps on account of the obvious additions of collaborators.

In Giotto's *Last Judgment* at Padua the connection between its various parts is perfect. The mighty figure of the Judge, within an oval nimbus borne aloft by angels, rises from a group of seated Apostles arranged in a hollow semicircle to accentuate the illusion of space. The all-seeing merciful Judge is, though isolated, seated amongst the crowd; and by his greater proportions Giotto seems to give him a perspective value, thrusting him out from the vast assembly of thrones that sweeps round the edge of the brilliant oval. The flying choirs of angels, the multitudes of the Elect, the very crowds of the Damned converge

towards the Judge. In the figures of the Damned Giotto breaks the regularity of transverse line in order to produce the effect of tempestuous winds that whirl the tiny figures about on a more distant plane; they look like flames flickering against a dark background. The centre of action, God, the Lord of the universe, draws all these groups up to himself with radiant magnetic lines. The figures of Mary and John, set by Cavallini like candelabra between the Apostles and God, always traditionally placed between the Judge and the assembly of Apostles, would have diminished the effect of Christ's divine isolation and interrupted the constructional unity of the semicircle; Giotto therefore puts the Virgin at the foot of the Cross at the bottom of the fresco in the act of accepting the donation of the kneeling Scrovegno. The figures of the Virgin, S. John and S. Catherine compose a wonderfully modelled and dignified group.

In the fresco of the *Ascension* Christ draws along the flight of angels and saints like a breath of wind driving the clouds. The work of collaborators cannot obscure the greatness of this work of Giotto's. In the *Noli me tangere* the Redeemer's gesture immortalises the magnificent tension of his attitude, and turns Magdalen to stone; in the *Flight into Egypt* Mary's immobility in comparison with the easy movement of the Child and the hurrying gait of the other persons, the vertical stiffness of the figure that is the axis of the composition, the acuteness of the searching gaze give the figure the expression of an inflexible will stronger than fate — the level look flashes irresistibly to a distant goal.

In the *Betrayal* scene a crowd of guards close round to seize Christ. The spears clash together on high, two mailed hands like iron gauntlets seem to threaten death, immediately over the Victim's head; Judas advances to kiss the divine face, but it is that face that dominates the scene, isolated amongst the encircling crowd. A shield seems to be interposed between his sacred lips and the lips of the traitor. Art has never created a more terrible drama than this silent duel between the keen look of the Victim and the traitor's squinting leer, between the kiss hovering on the open lips and the inflexible will to stop it. Amongst these crowded

Siena. Maestà (Duccio di Buoninsegna)

Siena. Denial of Christ by St. Peter
(Duccio di Buoninsegna)

bent figures the upright Christ dominates the scene by its very perpendicular line; He is not a Victim but God, Master of His destiny.

In the *Deposition*, the precipitous rock and the wall of figures round the principal group accentuate the human tragedy of the women weeping round Christ as they crouch on the ground bowed down with misery; the composition is dominated by horizontal lines and a general oppression seems to weigh over the whole scene.

The clear colours, smiling faces, the eager steps of Anna and Joachim passing obliquely from the Gate of Jerusalem to the arched bridge prove that Giotto could express the spontaneous joy of life as well as he did the crushing atmosphere of sorrow and misfortune; in the first story of St. Francis at Assisi the bowed head and the gesture of the hand depict the simple perplexity of the youth on the point of turning to the joy of revelation, whilst two gentlemen watch with keen eyes and pursed lips expressive of an aristocratic scepticism, and two passers-by question each other in surprise. All around is an ineffable serenity of marbles against a blue background; two well-kept houses, one with the dazzling whiteness of an upper-class dwelling, the other the home of an artisan with picturesque balconies, front the street on each side of a little church. The latter is constructed with a wonderful skill in the slender columns of the porch, in the marble steps, in the pediment so wide and slender as to remind us of the spandrel of Arnolfo's *ciborium* in Santa Cecilia. The similarity is heightened by the angels supporting the rose window with its exquisite tracery and the admirable Cosmatesque decoration of Greek crosses.

The *stil nuovo* in Italian painting has its triumph in this inherent graceful nobility of persons and things. Pietro Cavallini brings his vigorous modelling and his powerful Roman figures to Assisi; Simone Martini, his ineffable Eastern harmony of winding lines, the symphony of his colours dominated by gold; Cimabue, the fury of the elements around the dying Christ; Giotto, the profound calm, the dignity of spirit of that first Renaissance of poetry

San Gimignano. Palazzo del Comune. Maestà
(Lippo Memmi)

Florence. Uffizi: Annunciation
(Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi)

and painting. Figures are not crowded together as in the Byzantine style, but arranged at intervals; they stand out in relief; they sometimes make quick, sure gestures, that, without breaking the dignity of their appearance, express movement with great efficacy.

Giotto deifies the human figure as Michelangelo was to deify it later. The impassive idols of the Byzantine style put on, with him, an earthly beauty, bodily solidity and moral grandeur. The flesh of his figures, no longer monochromatic as with Cavallini, nor lit by fantastic reflections of painted glass, golden curtains, and heavenly gleams as in Simone Martini, nor with that coloured stucco of the lesser Tuscans, pales, quickens, flushes, takes on all the varied hues of life. Colour, no longer understood as the very essence of art, becomes the instrument of representative truth and relief. Finally in the relationships between relief, line and movement, the fundamental problems of painting and sculpture during the Renaissance in Florence are studied and solved.

Giotto, like all the great masters, went to Rome, preceded by a great reputation. But his greatest work in the Eternal City, the *Navicella*, celebrated and appreciated by the Renaissance, is no longer in existence to prove its greatness, except in the numerous copies that speak for the fascination it has exercised throughout the centuries, and in a reflection preserved by the Assisi fresco of a collaborator, the arrival of Lazarus at Marseilles. More, this fresco and the design formerly in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, a literal copy of the lost work, are the only versions in which a faithful echo may be looked for; the *Navicella di Giotto* to be seen to-day in S. Peter's is a miserable imitation of the original, a patchwork of restorations.

Thus the great Florentine's masterpiece in Rome was destroyed and the altarpiece of S. Peter in the Vatican, painted, as was the *Navicella* to the order of Cardinal Stefaneschi, is the work of followers. The statuesque figure of the Virgin dominates the altarpiece in the Uffizi at Florence; the sides of the wide slender throne open to receive her as the doors of an ikon to reveal its image.

Siena. Palazzo Pubblico. Fresco Guidoriccio da Fogliano (Simone Martini)

Rome. Madonna (Simone Martini: formerly in the Stroganoff Collection)

In the Vatican altarpiece Christ is crouched against the over-rich background of a throne, so high that its cusp and its side pinnacles touch the Gothic window. The angels no longer have the priestly dignity and monumental architecture of Giotto's angels; the copyist tones down the design that does, indeed, recall Padua in its architectural decoration of cusps and brackets, and the altarpiece of Florence in its kneeling angels gazing at Christ.

So it is with the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*. The two lateral pyramids, and the pyramidical groups of figures, define the space in which Peter falls headlong from the Cross, creating a tragic illusion of falling into a gulf; nevertheless, this scene of emaciated forms, in which the use of pyramidical forms clashes with the Gothic pinnacles, is not to be compared with Giotto's great work at Padua. The figures are poor and out of balance, and much weaker than the angels round Christ, they recall the *Martyrdom of St. Paul*, in which the thick trees and the great precipitous rocks are but a weak echo of Giotto's great art.

Nearer to Giotto's design is the Virgin in the predella. This is a strong powerful figure, seated queen-like on a throne attended by two angels, offering her incense from burning censers, and flanked by SS. Peter and Paul. The dense *chiaroscuro* in the manner of Cavallini, the long oval faces, the sharp features and the meditative seriousness of the faces seem to show in this part of the work at least, the hand of a worthy follower of Giotto and Cavallini. But the soft rich folds of the clinging draperies do not fulfil the constructive function that Giotto gives to his vestments with their solid unity and breadth of surface; the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, flat under their sloping mantles, are far removed from that monumental solidity that Giotto gives to his figures. Nevertheless, the great majesty of conception proclaims aloud the name of its Florentine creator. The usual divisions between the sections are scarcely touched in by little dots like white pearls, but the sacred figures detach themselves from the base of the panel and rise to the middle of the picture like statues on an altar. The two saints, scarcely turned out of the straight,

Montepulciano. Monastery of S. Girolamo. Madonna (Lippo Memmi)

Siena. Gallery: Triptych (Ambrogio Lorenzetti)

with eyes fixed, and the angels, stiffly leaning on the side of the throne, converge to the central sublime figure of the Virgin. She in her turn gazes at her worshippers with a deep, sad look. She is the centre of the whole scene, the image on the altar, and the two Apostles and the angel incense-bearers converge on her as Donatello's statues in the full Renaissance do on the altar of the Santo at Padua — for its fine concentration of scene the Stefaneschi altarpiece is a splendid example of the greatness of its brilliant creator.

Giotto blends in his art all kinds of traditions and memories, echoes of biblical prophecies, legends of saints. He substitutes the ardent, balanced, calm beauty of youth for the ideal of an infinite beauty and a crude reality made horrible by sin and death. This ideal, not too high nor too unworldly, nor yet too low nor materialistic, inspires a right and sane conception of life. The saints are no longer citizens of Heaven, motionless figures in gold brocade in apses and vaults, they become citizens of the world and Heaven shines with beauties of earth. Giotto, like Dante, captures life with his quick, pure strokes. He can represent Magdalen regenerated by heavenly grace, St. Francis, not as a humble callow figure as Tommaso da Celano had shown him to us, but as a strong, noble, dominating figure; the Baptist sternly facing death; Mary clothed in a royal dignity, both when she hears the words of the *Ave* and when between the two figures of St. John and St. Catharine she appears to Scrovegno laying his offering before her. The word of the new art is proclaimed by Giotto and, throughout the whole of the *Trecento*, the representative arts march under his banner.

The Byzantine tradition is alive in Siena both before and during the age of Giotto. Duccio di Buoninsegna is the principal master of the Sienese school and, as a faithful follower of tradition, he still loves decorated surfaces and the calligraphy of gold edging, he still loves to pick out the close folds of garments and each curl of shining hair with slender gold lines. In his great altarpiece in the Museo dell' Opera at Siena he still clothes his figures with Byzantine pomp.

In this picture the Virgin is seated on a throne decorated

with precious marbles and mosaics; around her is a throng of saints and angels, rising up from the sides to the top of the chair. Their slender hands and their curly jewelled heads rest on the marble edges and on the cloth of gold with which these are covered. In Duccio's figures there is no sign of the life that animates Giotto's creations; severe and gloomy, with great almond eyes and immobile oriental features, they

SIENA. PALAZZO PUBBLICO. PEACE
(A. LORENZETTI)

bear the hieratic imprint of Byzantinism. Here is no striving after relief and movement, but soft harmonies of Byzantine curves, narrative facility and ordered composition. In the *Preaching of the Baptist* at Budapest, a part of the Sienese altarpiece, Christ and the Apostles are magnificently grouped as pinnacles to the rocks that are set round in a hollow ring to form a kind of cradle for the isolated figure of the Baptist. In the scene depicting the Marys at the

sepulchre, the rocks, broken up in the Byzantine manner, carry out the lines of the figures of the startled women and culminate behind the lofty white angel resting in the deep sheen of his crescent wings. There is the same harmony between the line of the figures and the rocks in the *Noli me tangere*. In this picture Christ is not the risen God inaccessible in His glory, as Giotto painted Him: He turns in pity towards the Magdalen. The woman's arms have not got the vigorous gesture of Giotto's Saint, expressing the cry of the soul at departing hope; here alone the hands are visible coming out from the bent figure like little fluttering wings. There is a wide gulf between these two conceptions, as wide as that between Duccio's gentle curves and the clear synthetic outlines of Giotto. The multicoloured Tuscan city with Romanesque towers and slender Gothic belfry introduced in the *formella* of the *Temptation of Christ*, amongst the jagged rocks on which stands a severe Christ and sweet ivory pale angels, prove that this Byzantine traditionalist is able to adapt his finely decorated scenes to the world in which he lives.

Simone Martini (1283–1344), a pupil of Duccio, contributes a sense for magnificent colourings, a suavity of image, a vaster and more diffused harmony of interwoven Byzantine line treated with daring originality, a new fluidity of curves. The solemn assembly of saints and angels round the Virgin in the picture in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena is like a piece of embroidered gold brocade stretched across a cathedral, whose windows add to the splendour of the scene by the splendour of shining glass and precious columns, slender as Giovanni Pisano's in the Pisan cemetery. The Divine Child is clad in gold and purple, the Virgin, still a somewhat rigid type, bends her head slowly over one shoulder in a graceful attitude that reminds one of Petrarch's words "*benignamente assai par che m'ascolte.*" The loves and angels crowned with roses offer her baskets full of flowers; the saints gaze at her in a golden ecstasy, the metallic halos are garlanded with roses; the gilded canopy forms a roof over the chosen assembly. Opposite this vision of imperial splendours, this shimmer of gold, gems and purple, is the picture of Gui-

doriccio dressed in variegated garments riding across a dark blue sky between delightfully drawn childish castles.

Within slender niches and open loggias on the walls of the Assisi basilica there is a fantastic show of exotically beautiful saints with long faces and half-closed golden eyes in pale ivory faces.

But Simone's art is seen to best advantage not in these

FLORENCE. UFFIZI MADONNA
(PIETRO LORENZETTI)

vast works, but in his small paintings where the outlines of his slim figures in their clinging sheath of garments have the languid fluidity and lily-like slenderness of Japanese figures. The harmonious Byzantine line in the hands of Simone can weave languid eastern arabesques with broad sweeping rhythm. In the picture at Antwerp the form has something of the soaring fragility of the lily that buds into tiny green leaves in the hands of the magnificent Gabriel.

Closely connected with Simone Martini is his collaborator

Lippo Memmi, who in his numerous elaborate little altar-pieces, in the magnificent *Maestà* of San Gimignano, for example, copies his designs and types. He is distinguishable from Martini by his flatter curves, by his tendency to symmetry and perpendicular lines and by his gradual progress from the harmonious Byzantine undulations to rapid Gothic valuations, and above all for his different colouring, with its prevalence of miniaturistic tints in which flaming orange is cheerfully ranged alongside dead whites and vernal greens. Akin to Duccio in his early works Lippo Memmi has a less developed sense of colour than Simone Martini, although intense and gay enough. He is the first to herald Gothic outline in the Sienese school.

The coming of the Gothic style finds an echo in the art of the two brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Although in close contact with Duccio and Simone, they stand out, especially Ambrogio, as profoundly personal artists. Angels, in Duccio's manner, approach the throne with a certain familiarity, intently gazing with a new curiosity at the divine group; his Virgins converse vivaciously with their Babes in Pietro's pictures. A good example of this is to be found in the Assisi group, where the expressive folds of the cloak, the pointed thumb of the Virgin, the curled line of the long lashes well express the lively interrogation passing between Mother and Child. This intimacy between the Virgin and Child, that is also expressed by Giovanni Pisano in his statues, is first introduced into Sienese painting by Pietro Lorenzetti who depicts their animated conversations, and by Ambrogio who paints them cheek to cheek, and finally by Donatello. In the polyptych of the Sienese gallery Ambrogio Lorenzetti has created a series of elastic curves and sudden restraints, of upward soaring and stiff fall, of undulation and sheer descent, edging his outlines with flat red and gold belts and by contrasting the rigid hem of a mantle with the gentle curves of a breast. The Virgin seems to rise up limitless amongst the great saints, in robust tension which lengthens and flattens her body against the gold ground. The contrast between Ambrogio's lines is continued between his colours. There

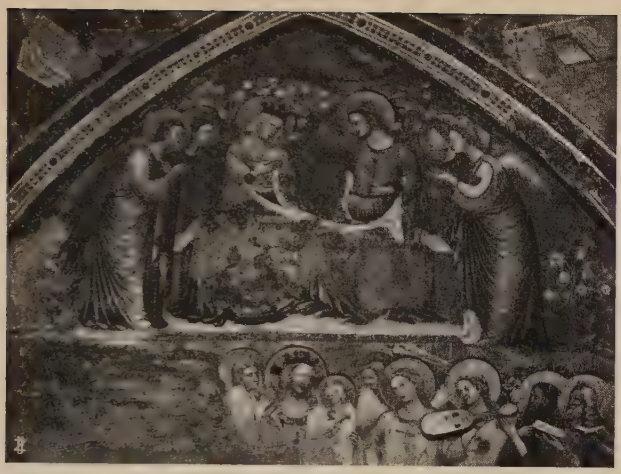
FLORENCE. S. M. NOVELLA. PART OF A PREDELLA (ORCAGNA)

FLORENCE. VAULT IN THE CHAPEL OF THE SPAGNUOLI
(ANDREA DA FIRENZE)

is contrast between the cold red lacquer of the mantle hem and the fair skin of the lovely pacing Dorothea, "*incessu patuit dea*"; between the blended tints of the garments and the alternating hues of the star-shaped blossoms that fill the Saint's lap; between the warm faces round her and the cold intense whiteness of her own.

In the little altarpiece in the same gallery a web of green lines runs over the golden carpet that is spread from the throne over the Arabian pavement. In this picture the Virgin leans forward between saints and angels crowned with jewels and flowers, to counterbalance the supple Gothic curve of the Child who has suddenly unfolded a white scroll. Ambrogio's strong originality is not only seen in the great allegorical frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, with their vast hilly landscapes and their symbolic figures of the virtues — famous amongst them *Peace* with white staring eyes and indolent body — not only in the exquisite little pictures of the Madonna and Child embracing, but also in two landscape studies of the Siena gallery. A mediaeval city of stiff buildings is set on sterile rocks amongst a few sparse trees that make a contrast with their green foliage against the uniform pink grey. It is like a coloured woodcut with its complicated angles of towers, castles, walls and houses. The same stiffness that Lorenzetti contrasts with the looseness of outline in his pictures stamps every detail of this deserted city, so different from the childish cities, from the multicoloured marble dwelling that Duccio sets amongst the rocks of the background of his *Temptation*.

The Giottesque tradition continues in Florence, but there is no one to carry on the simple grandeur and dramatic power of the master. As a rule his pupils repeat his types and attempt to tell the Bible stories realistically, but secondary figures and details take up too much of their attention. Almost directly after Giotto's death, therefore, a style spreads from Florence through Italy that is a compromise between the master's motifs and the Sienese school. This style is all in the tradition and therefore more easily comprehensible to ordinary men than Giotto's profound revolutionary art could ever be. The greatest artists of this



Ravenna. Church of S. Maria in Porta Fuori (Giovanni and Pietro da Rimini)

Padua. Oratorio di S. Giorgio. Martyrdom of St. Catherine (Altichieri and Avanzo)

school are Stefano, Maso di Banco, Pacino di Buonaguida, Bernardo Daddi, Taddeo Gaddi, Andrea Orcagna and Andrea da Firenze.

Painting spreads from Siena to Umbria and the Marches, and at Fabriano a new school is founded by Allegretto Nuzi, and continued in the next century by Gentile. Towards the end of the *Trecento* Florence herself seems to fall under the sway of Sienese painting with Starnina and Lorenzo Monaco. Nearer to the pure Giottesque style is Spinello d'Arezzo. But he makes no advance in it.

In Northern Italy, a new realistic school, founded on the style of Giotto, rises with the clear vernal tints and Gothic arches of Giovanni da Milano's painting; with the great frescoes of Altichieri and Avanzo in the churches of Verona and Padua; with Tommaso da Modena a clever interpreter of faces. In Romagna, numbers of more humble painters follow the same trend. All these artists, almost without knowing it, transform the Giottesque style into an art more concerned with detail than with the general structure of the scene.

# V

# ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

# I

## ARCHITECTURE

THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE *QUATTROCENTO*, IN PAINTING by the work of Masaccio, in sculpture by Donatello, were made possible by the genius of Filippo Brunelleschi, the inventor of architectural perspective. Whilst the Gothic style was still flourishing in Northern Italy, Florentine architecture had passed with Filippo from the slender curves of Gothic to the regularity of the square, to the domination of the horizontal line and round arch. With Filippo the simplification of construction that, as in sculpture and painting, is the foundation of the new style, already asserts itself.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century religious architecture gives way to civil architecture. The Florentine palace, a massive construction built round a quadrangle surrounded by porticoes, is the typical creation of the new art. The exterior of this type of building still maintains characteristics of mediaeval castles in which there is a greater stretch of wall than of openings; but the internal decoration is entirely inspired by classical art. The construction of square churches surmounted by cupolas undergoes a transformation of the same kind. The groups of shafts are substituted by pilasters and columns; the ogive by barrel-vaulting or by flat horizontal ceilings decorated with square panels. On the outside we find columns, spandrels, and niches, that is to say, all the details of Roman architecture.

Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) was the author of this great change, with his cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore (already planned by Arnolfo di Cambio), the façade of the Pitti Palace, the Cappella Pazzi in Santa Croce, San Lorenzo and Santo Spirito. Nothing remains of the lavish fourteenth-century decoration, although the predominance of open spaces, the slimness of the light arcades, the slender mouldings are reminiscent of the soaring Gothic style. The

FLORENCE. LOGGIA OF THE INNOCENTI, AFTER THE DESIGN OF BRUNELLESCHI

FLORENCE. THE CATHEDRAL

FLORENCE. CHURCH OF SANTA CROCE, WITH THE CLOISTER AND THE PAZZI CHAPEL

FLORENCE. SANTA CROCE: INTERIOR OF THE PAZZI CHAPEL

Pazzi chapel is one of the most typical of Brunelleschi's great works. On the outside airy arcades, barrel-vaulting with panels decorated with roses, friezes of cherubim; inside, an elegant rectangular chamber surmounted by a ribbed cupola; neither projection nor play of shadows breaks the geometrical regularity of the spacing on the formal mouldings round the white walls. Pilasters and rounded arches weave a grey pattern of line. For love of regularity and square design, Brunelleschi in his church of San Lorenzo constructs a building on the plan of a Christian basilica, with a flat ceiling and dividing colonnades. But even here the classical model takes on Florentine characteristics. The massive bulk of the old style is exchanged for innumerable open spaces and elegant mouldings. Throughout, the decoration follows and accentuates the line; the little shafts, the spirals, the interlacing in the lower arches increase and augment the elastic throw of the arcades.

A great many artists set themselves to build in the new style under Brunelleschi's influence. And so, as in sculpture the generation which succeeded Donatello were his followers, later architects used Brunelleschi's plans and designs and achieved more harmonious results. Amongst Brunelleschi's followers only one succeeded in achieving a personal style, and then only on the same principles; this was Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472). Brunelleschi brings about his reform by means of his square classic design, disciplined round arches and horizontal lines. Nevertheless, he still has a tendency to lighten mouldings, to give lineal continuity to his arches, to make open spaces dominate masses, and to affect a pre-Roman lightness of architectural framework. It is only with Leon Battista Alberti that solid walls come into their own. The chapels in Sant' Andrea at Mantua are separated by massive sections of wall, and the sides of the temple of Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini achieve their solid grandeur by great geometrically cut blocks of bare stone. Equally significant is the transformation of the light, graceful cupolas of Brunelleschi into the Albertian dome, heavy, blind, semicircular. The exteriors of Brunelleschi's churches are repetitions of

RIMINI. THE TEMPLE OF MALATESTA (LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI)

URBINO. DUCAL PALACE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the interiors and on this account they lack individuality; but with Leon Battista Alberti the exterior takes on a magnificent style of its own. Sigismondo's temple gets its massive bulk by the unity between its sides and its wonderful façade, from the repose of its broad surfaces, from its sober classical decoration. In Brunelleschi there is a constructor's genius, gay Florentine elegance, love of soaring profiles; in

FLORENCE. PALAZZO RUCELLAI
(LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI)

Alberti, passionate imagination, the all-importance of the mass. The scheme of Brunelleschi's buildings is repeated with little variety. Only in Santo Spirito the illusory crossing of lines of columns under light arcades goes to show that even this great reformer sometimes brought fantastic effects into his art. The plan of Alberti's buildings is surprisingly varied, he passes from the heroic temple of Malatesta that seems to raise a hymn of glory from its cupolas and triumphal arches to the Greek elegance of the little church of Santo

Sepolcro. A consummate theorist and a humanist, Leon Battista surpasses himself in his designs for buildings, and, indeed, for whole cities that were destined to remain on paper. Sometimes one seems to see in his works the suggestion that beauty consists in rhythm: —"The same proportions that, in music, please the ears with harmony, in other mediums bring delight to the eyes and the soul." Alberti carries

FLORENCE. PALAZZO RICCARDI (MICHELOZZI), FIFTEENTH CENTURY

this romantic point of view, quite unknown to Brunelleschi, to the construction of his buildings: he talks of "the mystery of shadow in churches, the lights, the bright candles round the altar."

Filippo Brunelleschi begins the reform, Alberti carries it on; but although their arts run side by side throughout the Renaissance, they never fully blend and harmonise. Even when the followers of the one carry out the plans of the other they do so in quite a different spirit: Michelozzo Michelozzi

(1396–1472) and Benedetto da Maiano (1442–1492), although they get their inspiration from Alberti's idea of the Florentine palace, remain faithful disciples of Brunelleschi. Alberti's predilection for thick, massive walls is to be seen in the clear architecture of Luciano Laurana da Zara. The lightness and nervous force of the mouldings, the predominance of openwork, typical of Brunelleschi's architecture, may be said

URBINO. DUCAL PALACE
(LUCIANO LAURANA)

to be the beginning of reformed Tuscan classicism, considered as formal clarity of framework rather than effects of masses. Brunelleschi's architecture, for example, is the inspiration behind the skeleton buildings of Cronaca and Giuliano da Sangallo. With the work of the latter master (1445–1516) Brunelleschi's style takes on something of the monumental. His principal building, the Santa Maria delle Carceri at Prato, foreshadows the artistic importance of the coming century.

The Riccardi palace of Michelozzo Michelozzi, the Strozzi palace of Benedetto da Maiano, together with the Rucellai palace of Alberti are the best examples of the private gentleman's house of the fifteenth century. The style is already defined by Brunelleschi in the Pitti Palace, but in these examples it is carried to great heights of aristocratic grace and vigour.

NAPLES. CASTEL NUOVO. TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF KING ALFONSO I OF ARAGON (LUCIANO LAURANA)

In Luciano Laurana da Zara, the architect of Alfonso of Aragon's arch at Naples and of the ducal palace at Urbino, a collaborator of Alberti's at Mantua, we no longer find Brunelleschi's clean line nor Alberti's imposing breadth. Luciano concentrates on a study of proportions, a clarity of broad surfaces, a renunciation of ornament to the advantage of pure form. Alberti with his mathematical proportions gives harmony to his buildings, sometimes, indeed,

a harmony achieved with considerable emphasis; Laurana's style, however, is conducive to rhythmic charm and regularity of pause. In the Urbino palace all rich ornamentation is done away with, so that the smooth surfaces shall not be disturbed by shadows, so that the crystalline clarity of the proportions shall not be marred. The utmost the artist tolerates is a quiet colour effect limited to two tones, that is to say, the effect of his pure white mouldings against the pale rose walls. There are white vertical rows of pilasters, white frames round the doors and windows, white lines in the entablatures that surround the whole square building. Between the arches there is a simple garland surrounding a slightly concave golden disk, the only ornamentation consists in the words of dedication to Federigo da Montefeltro, let into the building like gems and appropriate in design to the whole of the architecture. The pauses between the arches, the windows, the letters, the words are arranged with one and the same rhythm; together they compose a sort of poem. Leon Battista Alberti aims at decorative sobriety, but his humanistic admiration for all things Roman makes him appreciate massive ornament. Laurana is unique in his love of synthesis, in his absolute simplicity that leaves his proportions free to unfold their intrinsic beauty. In his clear geometry, in the purity of his proportions, the smooth cleanliness of his façades without shadows, he reflects an unperturbed serenity.

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In Siena, Giovanni Pisano's Gothic tradition was consummated in the vigorous art of Jacopo della Quercia, and the Renaissance spirit was well expressed by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, a famous civil and military engineer who had inherited the elegant Sienese artistry. After having created the little Sienese church of Santa Maria delle Nevi in a gay, simple style, he went to Urbino to continue the work of Luciano Laurana da Zara and satisfy Federigo da Montefeltro's thirst for splendid things. The abstract beauty of Luciano's immaculate creations is followed by a splendour of decorations. After he had finished the royal palace and fortified Montefeltro's cities, he built the

CORTONA. MADONNA DEL CALCINAIO
(FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI)

PRATO. CHIESA DI SANTA MARIA DELLE CARCERI
(DESIGN OF G. DI SANGALLO)

palace of Gubbio. This was an echo of the Urbino palace, and it gave a model to that city inevitably determining all its architecture.

Francesco di Giorgio Martini's activity seems to be boundless, he did not limit himself to architecture but worked at sculpture, inlay in metal and wood, at painting and as a miniaturist. At Urbino he builds the church of San Bernardino, an elegant nave topped by a cylindrical three-stepped lantern and by a prolongation of the same; at Jesi, he builds the town hall, the most fascinating fifteenth-century building of its kind in Umbria; at Ancona he continues the Gothic construction of the Palazzo degli Anziani; and throughout the Marches, Umbria and Romagna, his art sets a standard. We must add that in the Orsini palace at Tagliacozzo in the Abruzzi, in the Cancelleria palace at Rome, in the Odescalchi castle at Bracciano we can trace the far-flung influence of Francesco's art.

The genius of Luca Signorelli understood the elevation of his (Francesco's) art and he proposed the Sienese master to his own native city as architect of the temple of Madonna del Calcinaio, a vast and elegant structure in which the subtle and melodic genius of Sienese art is triumphant.

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The district of the Abruzzi is almost untouched by the humanistic influence of the Renaissance. The Palazzo dell' Annunziata at Sulmona is decorated with lacy filigree work. Apulia with its wealth of ancient buildings does not feel the necessity to construct more, although at the end of the fifteenth century Soleto builds her cathedral spire, a sumptuous erection of delicate carving. Campanian architecture undergoes the influence of Aragon and Anjou; buildings there are similar to those in Sicily. Foreign influence also gives a typical imprint to the Neapolitan Renaissance. Even in apparently Tuscan buildings like the Cuomo palace this influence may be recognised by the frequent inflections of the moulding. It is felt even at Castel Nuovo where Luciano Laurana sets up his wonderful arch.

Aragonese art sets its stamp on Sicilian architecture of the

MILAN. THE CATHEDRAL (MARCO FRISONE DA CAMPIONE)

BOLOGNA. SAN PETRONIO: INTERIOR

*Quattrocento*. The island, therefore, that had been once covered with marble filigree, the complicated Byzantine openwork, white arabesques outlined against shadows, with many-coloured Arab carpets, continues to present in the fifteenth century an exotic appearance with this complexity of daring profiles, twisted ornament and flowery arabesques. Taormina is rich in fine buildings. The town of Graeco-Roman ruins witnessed an art in the fifteenth century as rich in colour as its own flowers. Syracuse is rich in Arab-Spanish openwork. Even the small Sicilian cities can show a fabulous splendour: Ragusa, for example, has that epic portal of its little church of San Giorgio. The richest harvest, however, is to be found at Palermo, where towards the end of the century that bizarre genius Matteo Carnelivari builds the palaces Aiutamicristo and Abbatelli and the church of S. Maria della Catena.

Side by side with this native art inspired by foreign models, we note the art of Domenico Gagini who brings the first designs of the Lombard Renaissance from Genoa to Palermo and Sicily.

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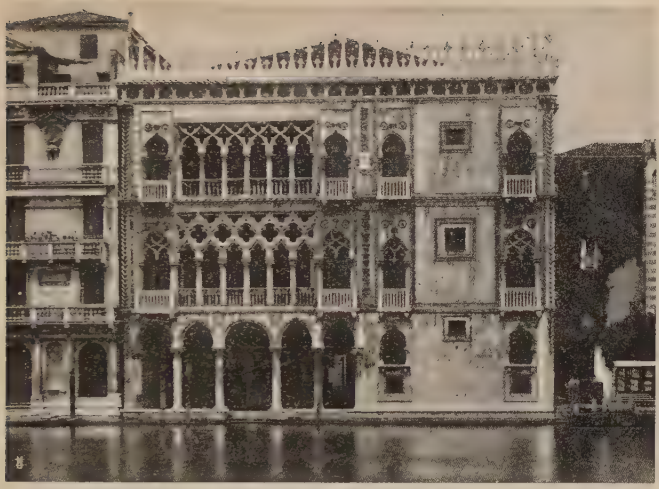
In Northern Italy the cathedral of Milan was a centre of international artistic activity, at a time when Gothic art was spreading new ramifications over the whole of Europe. The Lombard stone-cutters, who worked from Genoa to Venice, gained elasticity by contact with this brilliant foreign architecture. Nevertheless, Gothic art did not strike root at Milan, even though Lombard architects and stone-cutters considered that city as their central manufactory. In Milan cathedral, as in the Certosa of Pavia, native design quickly triumphed over Gothic, though by logical necessity it was forced to harmonise with it.

Piedmont and Liguria both felt the influence of Lombard architecture and sculpture; but the former was open to southern French influences and the latter to the influence of the artists of the Tyrrhenian shore. In Venice the native style was fused with the Lombard in the Cà' d'Oro, *Domus Magna* of Marin Contarini. This is a typical model of mature Venetian Gothic with *loggias*, adorned almost like sacred



VENICE. THE CÀ' D'ORO PALACE.
GOTHIC STYLE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

VENICE. DOGE'S PALACE

standards with crosses and *quadrilobi*, in rows over the grand canal as though waiting for the triumphal galleys of the Republic. The Doge's palace was built at the same time as the Cà' d'Oro. This well-known building consists of a long balcony supported by a sturdy portico that faces the sea, its supple arcades and harmonious quadrilobes having the effect of the myriad eyes of Argus. Emilia, too, a region that felt Venetian influence at the end of the *Trecento*, could boast magnificent new designs; in Ferrara, for example, where Bartolino of Novara built the strong *Castello* for the Esti, and in Bologna, where Antonio di Vincenzo raised the church of San Petronio.

The full Lombard Gothic that is to be seen at Venice in the Cà' d'Oro and the Doge's palace was diffused throughout Venetian territory. This was largely owing to the masters Bon, who displayed their art in the sumptuous Porta della Carta. Among them Giorgio Orsini da Sebenico spread Venetian influence throughout Dalmatia. At Ancona, the arcade design of the Cà' d'Oro and the Doge's palace is used in the churches of San Francesco delle Scale and Sant' Agostino, and in the Loggia dei Mercanti, but in these examples it becomes restless and almost exasperating.

At Venice the Renaissance produces a sculptor of genius, Antonio Rizzo. He realises the picturesque value of the full Gothic and how necessary it is to preserve this splendid ornament for the new art. His greatest work is the Arco Foscari in the Doge's palace. Having finished and enriched the two fine statues on the Porta della Carta, he goes further and decorates the entrance to the Scala dei Giganti, contriving to continue the design of the artists Bon who created the great front of that door. When he gets to the Arco Foscari that gives on to the stairway, he continues to work in the style of the Bon. This is obvious in the capitals and cornices, even in the Adam and Eve figures inserted between columns. Above the arch he raises a pyramid surrounded by pinnacles in the shape of angels and the Virtues. These stand erect in space like furled standards, and the whole arch is surmounted by a statue of St. Mark.

Antonio Rizzo, then, master of the new style, still favours

VENICE. ARCO FOSCARI (ANTONIO RIZZO)

VENICE. CHIESA DEI MIRACOLI
(PIETRO LOMBARDO)

the Gothic. The artists of the Lombardo family enrich their buildings with a growing profusion of ornaments, coloured marbles, porphyry and *serpentino* disks, a little afraid of the coldness of this new classical architecture. As the Chiesa dei Miracoli shows, they tend more and more to strive after effect, and cover every available space with their disks, multicoloured crosses, and floral decoration.

VENICE. SAN MICHELE ALL'ISOLA
(MAURO CODUCCI)

At the same time as the Masters Lombardo are weaving their marble draperies, Mauro Coducci of Bergamo builds the Torre dell' Orologio in Piazza San Marco. This building is divided into four sections, decreasing in size as it rises; it has two wings that are divided as the sections of the tower. All the openings are carefully calculated, taller on the lower storeys and decreasing towards the top, in strict correspondence with the general harmonious geometry. The sensitive architect feels the proximity of the mother church of Venice,

and he makes the background of his winged lion at the top of the tower similar to the background of the top of St. Mark's façade. In the same way he contrives to sound an echo of the multicoloured decoration of the basilica in the mosaics of his second storey.

The Renaissance having inherited the full Venetian Gothic rivals it in picturesque effects. Mauro Coducci strikes a

VENICE. THE CLOCK TOWER
(MAURO CODUCCI)

compromise between the two styles in Palazzo Corner-Spinelli. Modelled on this building is the Vendramin Calergi palace, that marks the triumphal close of fifteenth-century architecture.

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In Emilia, architecture is free of the Gothic influence and undergoes a different development. When Ferrara is extended by Ercole I d'Este, Biagio Rossetti plans wide

streets, flanked by palaces with great courtyards, so that the Estense capital seems to Burckhardt the first modern city of Europe. Its brick buildings are arranged on a well-proportioned plan with dead straight dados and accurately described arches. As time goes on, Rossetti abandons his humble materials for costly marble and builds the Diamanti Palace and the Palazzo dei Costabili, named after Ludovico

Bergamo. Colleoni Chapel: the Façade (G. A. Amadeo)

il Moro. Decoration assumes the richness, the exuberance and the Venetian splendour of the Masters Lombardo.

Bologna and Romagna, like Ferrara and Mantua, have the same fondness for terra-cotta, and their architecture becomes more picturesque by the contrast of this material with white marbles. The Palazzo del Podestà at Bologna, built towards the end of the *Quattrocento*, displays distinctly sixteenth-century characteristics. Bolognese architecture inspired by Alberti, whose style had been continued by

Luca Fancelli at Mantua, suddenly abandons terra-cotta and comes abreast of the time with its grandeur of outline.

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At Milan, Giovanni Antonio Omodeo, or Amadeo, having renounced the Gothic style, carries all its flowery decoration into the Renaissance. He begins in the internal decoration of Cappella Portinari in Sant' Eustorgio, he scatters figures

Milan. San Satiro
(Donato Bramante)

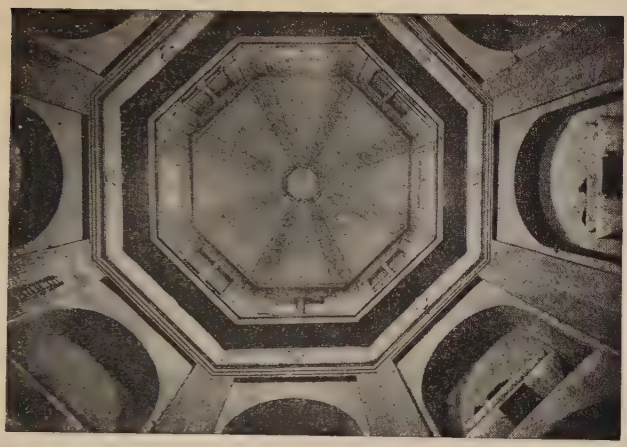
and ornaments in the Certosa of Pavia, and composes a masterpiece of coloured architecture in his Cappella Colleoni at Bergamo. He builds the lantern of Milan Cathedral, on which the Milanese had sought the advice of Bramante, Leonardo da Vinci, and Francesco di Giorgio Martini.

This Lombard artist takes the greatest share in building the Certosa of Pavia, and his hand is to be traced, not only in the little cloister, but also in the *Chiostro Grande*, in the great terra-cotta cornice, rich with open-work, and in the

arch-cornices decorated with angels. Omodeo's inspired delicate art becomes a model for the richly coloured Lombard architecture, as may be seen in the churches of the Incoronata of Lodi, of Santa Croce near Crema, of the Santuario of Saronno, of Madonna di Campagna near Pallanza.

Whilst Omodeo produces a crop of imitators throughout Lombardy, Donato Bramante takes this over-rich art and introduces discrimination, order, and balance. The lofty spirit that animates the work of this Urbino artist is well expressed in the church of San Satiro. This building, for the polished elegance of its vaulted ceiling and of its exterior towards via del Falcone, is very near to the clear flat marble surfaces of Luciano Laurana's architecture. The changeability of Bramante's temperament is illustrated in the last stage of this work. No longer constrained to harmonise with the Carolingian chapel of Santa Maria, he gives the sacristy (to-day the baptistery) an impetuous upward movement. The details of the church, the great smooth, broad arches, the classically divided ceilings in perspective, can be explained by the artist's original Urbino education, and by his contact with the works of Luciano Laurana, of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, and of the *prospettivisti* of Piero della Francesca's school. The influence of Lombard art also, that some assert is despised by Bramante, is patent and obvious in the sacristy.

The complication of mouldings and the consequent frequent shadows that reveal Bramante as a sensitive interpreter of the humanistic ideal reaches its greatest effect in the transept of Pavia cathedral. In the portico of Sant' Ambrogio the architect reminds one of Florence and Brunelleschi's successors, rather than of Urbino and Luciano Laurana. This effect rises from the free throw of his soaring arcades that do not rise from capitals as in the Urbino courtyard, but from a lofty *pulvino*. The scenic complication of projections and recesses, of niches within niches, of framework arranged to create illusionistic effect; the incessant oscillation of style between the smooth surfaces and collected masses of the Dalmatian Luciano, and the bursting life of Filippo Brunelleschi's line can again be studied in another work of about the same time as the



MILAN. TRIVULZIO CHAPEL, SAN NAZARO (BRAMANTINO)

MILAN. TRIVULZIO CHAPEL, SAN NAZARO
(BRAMANTINO)

*portico* of the Canonica di Sant' Ambrogio; that is to say, in the apse and lantern of Santa Maria delle Grazie.

Bartolomeo Suardi, called Bramantino, far removed from the Lombard colour tradition, raises his wonderful bare walls with divine simplicity as architectural backgrounds for his pictures: witness the Pantheon di Casa Trivulzio in the Cappella dei SS. Nazaro e Celso at Milan.

Before Bramantino with his Cappella Trivulzio closed the *Quattrocento* at Milan with an exceptional abstraction of geometrical forms, Donato Bramante had succeeded in imposing order on the brilliant Lombard architecture; but, meanwhile, his impressionable nature had felt the fascination of the gay decoration and profuse colour of the craftsmen of the Po valley.

At Rome, Bramante renews the contrast between the logical Urbino style and the fantastic decoration of the Roman projections and smooth surfaces, but this with the tranquil breadth typical of Raphael and the titanic impetus of Michelangelo. Remembering the cold calm of the cloister of Santa Maria della Pace, no one would have expected the impetus of the concentric planes, of the whirling circles that rise from the ringed steps to the ring of the heavy cupola in the little church of San Pietro in Montorio. Who would have expected the shifting lights and shadows of the harmonious mass? Both in this little church, in the great Belvedere niche and in his design for the Mother church of Christendom, it is obvious that Bramante has felt the influence of Rome. This Roman influence effaces his joyous colour and all memory of his rich Lombard palette.

## II

## PAINTING

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE *QUATTROCENTO* ITALY HAD NOT YET found a style of her own free from foreign influence. In Burgundy an art that combined its own realism with the

Castiglione d'Olona. Baptistery. Herod's Feast (Masolino da Panicale)

London. National Gallery. Saint Eustace (Pisanello)

fine line of the full Gothic style had evolved from models brought to Avignon by Simone Martini about half-way through the preceding century.

Historical connection with the Burgundy style, or rather, similarity of effects caused by a common origin, explain the reflection of the dominating full Gothic style in a great many Italian artists at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Florence. Uffizi. The Adoration of the Magi (Gentile da Fabriano)

The following painters are to be studied in this light: — Giovannino de' Grassi and his followers in Lombardy, Pisanello and Stefano da Zevio at Verona, Jacobello del Fiore and Michele Giambono at Venice, Antonio Alberti at Ferrara, Gentile da Fabriano and Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni da San Severino in the Marches, Lorenzo Monaco, Il Beato Angelico and Masolino at Florence.

Gentile da Fabriano (first heard of in 1409 — died 1427)

represented the court art of his time, with harmony of colours and exceptional refinement of pose. His most celebrated work is the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi at Florence. The artist is a magnificent decorator and scatters flowers over the Gothic framework, fills his scene with animals, gives the whole picture a dazzling brilliance of colour with brocades, damasks, jewelled girdles, golden

FLORENCE. SAN MARCO. THE ANNUNCIATION
(FRA ANGELICO)

Arabian inscriptions, sumptuous trappings. Every scene of the *predella* shimmers with lights. The picture of the Virgin adoring her Child in the grotto at Bethlehem is made gay with golden buckles and stars shining over the range of mountains, the *Flight into Egypt* has apple-trees with fruit shining amongst the green leaves like little lamps, the *Presentation in the Temple* is bright with ladies' costumes, slashed and fringed, against a background of handsome

loggias. Gentile shows himself in all these splendid well-dressed figures to be a fourteenth-century courtier-painter.

Antonio Pisano, called Pisanello (1397–98 — 1450), the greatest painter of this artistic movement, refines this crude design and gradually arrives at a precision and balance of outline without peer in the Gothic tradition. After having painted the *Annunziata* in San Fermo at Verona, with a

FLORENCE. CHURCH OF THE CARMINE.
FRESCO (MASACCIO)

splendour of cold light and rainbow curves, he goes on to execute the tiny St. Eustace in the London National Gallery. with the touch of a miniature-painter, and finally in his great fresco of Sant' Anastasia at Verona succeeds in giving to the world a complete costume-picture, attaining the delicacy of portraiture in the fine parchment-relief of the princess's head. The same qualities are also found in his portraits of the Este Princess in the Louvre, and Lionello

d'Este at Bergamo. Both these pictures are painted with a subtlety of relief and skilful interpretation of facial characteristics. Columbines, carnations and roses like misty stars relieve and enliven the dark backgrounds. Pisanello has made a long series of flower and animal drawings, in which a precision of line, acute observation of nature, a true poetic intuition for movement and a happy combination of

NAPLES. NATIONAL MUSEUM. CRUCIFIXION
(MASACCIO)

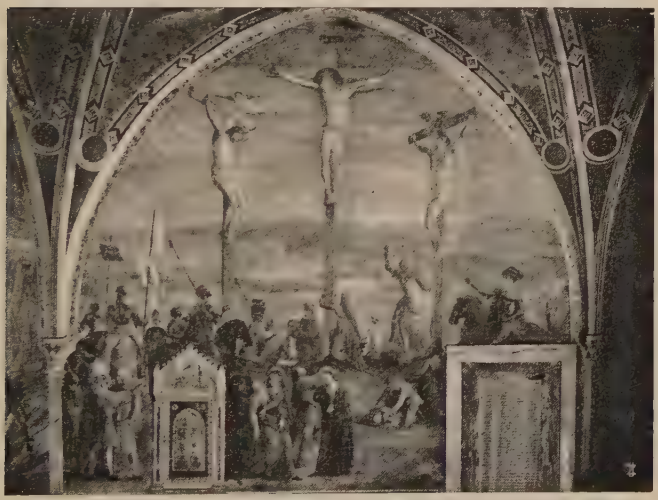
realism and fancy are magnificently blended. Exploring the inexhaustible variety of natural forms, even amongst the humblest manifestations of life, he makes a gallery of flowers, birds, monkeys, horses, dogs, even insects. Portraits and fabulous costume-studies complete our precious inheritance of Pisanello's work. Antonio Pisano, who has been called the prince of medallists, demonstrates the same qualities of precision and fancy in the realm of his own particular art. No other medallist equals his subtle rhythm of outlines

balanced within their circle, his marvellous relief, the poetry of his allegorical interpretations, the pictorial qualities of his modelling, these are the glory of Pisanello's medals. The greatest interpreter of the international movement of Gothic style, this artist, more than any other Italian, made it conform to the principles of balance and rhythm, and it is in these qualities that he partially anticipates the Renaissance.

The moment of passage between the Sienese-Florentine tradition and the full Gothic, is represented in Florence by Lorenzo Monaco. He gives painting austere monkish characteristics, in marked contrast with the magnificent decoration of lay art, and he finds his pleasure in delicate winding outlines and calligraphical designs. His horned rocks, crude and smooth as dark lava, and his flickering figures share the same pinnacle-like fragility; they look like scrolls that, held at one end, unfold in dense twists down to the ground. His picture of the *Coronation* in the Uffizi, originally in the Chiesa degli Angeli, must have had the appearance on the altar of an open liturgical fan.

Lorenzo Monaco's uneasy curves were softened by Frate Giovanni da Fiesole called Beato Angelico (a Dominican in 1407 — died at Rome 1455). He made use of the Gothic style of his day to interpret his own mysticism, and he became the great mystical painter of Italy. All Angelico's figures share the celestial immaterial quality of his pale Madonna della Stella. She is depicted like a devout nun set against a starry background, timid and affectionate, with ecstatic eyes accustomed to the shade of the cloister, with pupils sweet and vague under their lids. Sometimes, as in the *tabernacoletto* in St. Mark's, the graceful lily-like figures with their bright garb and peacock-wings are painted standing on rich carpets against a background covered with great roses and golden stars like the background of French miniatures. In other pictures, particularly in his predellas, his dreamy saints are grouped in front of dark cypresses and fleecy clouds in a blue sky. Clear air and untroubled sky appear for the first time in Italian art in Angelico's pictures. In the cloister of St. Mark the white of the Dominican robes lends to the Beato (Fra Angelico) for his figures bathed in waves

London. National Gallery. The Battle of Sant' Egidio
(Paolo Uccello)



Rome. Church of S. Clemente. Crucifixion (Masaccio)

of incense, rapt in mystic vision, new means of pictorial delicacies. Frate Giovanni da Fiesole, without special genius, and without a pioneer's presumption, paints his Madonnas and angels with the care of a devout priest decorating the altar of his little church. He paints in the spirit of worship and searches for the purest colours for

Florence. Cathedral: Equestrian Monument of V. Marrucci da Tolentino (Fresco by And. del Castagno)

the figures that people his heavenly visions. Jacob's ladder and the white-robed angels going up and down on it were felt and almost seen by this artist that posterity is to call *beato*.

In his story of St. Stephen in the Cappella Nicolina at Rome he succeeds, as he had never done in his Florentine works, in creating the effect of space in which his characters

move and have their being, clothed with eternal youth, with their eyes bewildered as with the enchantment of Paradise.

His architectural scenery in the lunettes is still designed with the ingenuousness of a *trecentista* without any attempt at perspective; but in the picture of the consigning of the

FLORENCE. CATHEDRAL: EQUESTRIAN MONUMENT OF THE ENGLISH CAPTAIN JOHN HAWKWOOD (FRESCO BY PAOLO UCCELLO)

treasures of the church to Lorenzo, and to a greater extent in those of the *Ordination*, and the *Distribution of Alms*, Renaissance art displays all its new resources. In these pictures space acquires definition and breadth; series of columns lead into the background behind the figure of the saint surrounded by beggars, and throw the gentle figure into relief. The figures, too, become broader and more balanced. The careful attitude of the blind man

is one of the most effective pieces of balanced painting in Angelico's art.

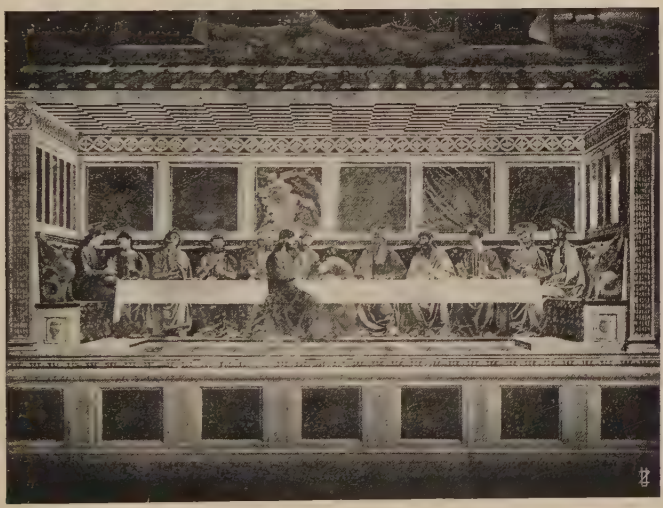
Masolino da Panicale (first heard of in 1418, died after 1430) in comparison with Beato Angelico represents an artistic tendency that is much less absorbed in idealistic religion and much more concerned with realism. This art is above all remarkable for its simple, clear narrative. And therefore Masolino's art had a great realistic influence in Tuscany even though it was still restricted by its elegant Gothic line.

Masaccio, the originator of the "*stil nuovo*" in Tuscany, continues to adapt Giotto's reform to the life of his day. With him, figures are carefully balanced, attitudes are limited, scenes are considered as a whole rather than in detail. The great perspective successes of Filippo Brunelleschi provide an instrument whereby Masaccio accentuates his figures by deep backgrounds. The type of Christ invented by Giotto in his Paduan frescoes is to be recognised in the Brancacci Chapel, but with new intensity of shadow, with a severe haughtiness of look. The walking groups stride along with the heavy tread of Roman cohorts; the square figures have a sculptured grandeur. A restrained passion bursts from these solemn composed figures; a good example being the red Magdalen at the foot of the Cross at Naples who stretches her arms in desperation over the dead body. Michelangelo's tragic humanity is seen in these figures. Masaccio designs them with a sacrifice of all detail to general effect, with a method entirely opposed to those of the full Gothic style.

An excellent example of Brunelleschi's mastery of architecture and perspective applied by painters to their art may be seen in the history of St. Catherine in the church of San Clemente at Rome. Here it is not Masolino, the refined conservative of the Baptistery of Castiglione d'Olona, but Masaccio, the artist of the Roman cohorts of the Carmine at Florence, who displays the full possibilities of the Florentine Renaissance to the Eternal City.

The figure of the Angel Gabriel on the Baptistery arch of Castiglione d'Olona is in San Clemente also painted in profile

FLORENCE. UFFIZI. ALLEGORY (PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA)



FLORENCE. EX-CONVENT OF SANT' APOLLONIA. THE LAST SUPPER. FRESCO (ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO)

with a restraint of outline that is quite Gothic; but with what a difference! The features are concise and metallic as though from an old coin; the gaze is hard and direct; the body is like an angular pilaster in its strong square relief. The same contrast can be observed between Masolino's stooping Virgin with her fragile twining curves and her aristocratic grace, and Masaccio's grave figure with rounded, modelled face and balanced attitude that could be contained by straight parallel lines. Through Masaccio's influence the reign of the square and of geometrical order begins in painting as, through the influence of Brunelleschi, it had begun in architecture.

A master of space, the artist unfolds before our eyes behind the curve of an arch the sweep of a circular church; a piece of daring perspective that by itself should be sufficient to reveal the painter of the frescoes, despite the sad condition in which they now are. The genius of the painter of the Brancacci Chapel shows itself in the painting of St. Catherine's decapitation. Note the gaunt solitude of rocks and hills, painted in the same spirit as the classical group of warriors closely ranked behind the wall of their shields; the dead-white rock that isolates the body of Catherine, laid in her tomb by a group of angels, and sets her far above the desolate landscape. The size of the background, the anxious attitudes of the soldiers and angels, the monumental solidity of masses, all go to give the principal action a notable relief. The slim, tense figure of the executioner stands out like a figure of steel.

With the *Crucifixion* in San Clemente, the artistically dead Roman world sees the resurrection of an art where the human figure, Giottesque in its bodily relief and statuesque gestures, stands clearly out against the remote distances of the background. No longer as in fourteenth-century pictures is there a crowd thronging round the Crucifixion, but the scene is carefully designed in a scheme of perspectives; mountains stretch towards the horizon in parallel chains; the rock-like groups, the Marys wrapt in their dark garments, the guards in their armour, mounted on great horses like monuments of stone or steel, have a

Arezzo. Church of S. Francesco. Death and Burial of Adam. Fresco (Piero della Francesca)

Arezzo. Church of S. Francesco. The Meeting of the Queen of Sheba with Solomon. Fresco (Piero della Francesca)

plastic value. Art seeks new horizons in this play of *chiaroscuro* and perspective.

Paolo Uccello (1396–1476) continues the space experiments begun by Masaccio with the application of Brunelleschi's methods. He does away with figures in relief, and for the first time in fifteenth-century painting creates the effect of coloured inlay. Paolo obtains his results, not so much in his great Biblical scenes of the Green Cloister, as in his battle pictures, where, against the wood-coloured backgrounds of sandy dunes, against screens of orange and pomegranate groves and hedges of roses, his warriors are grouped in a many-coloured company. White, bay, brown and black horses, bronzed armour, red ribbons, great metal buckles, golden trumpets, yellow and red spears, flying pennons are thrown together with brilliant effect. A passion for foreshortening and a juxtaposition of colours, due to the artist's neglect of relief, result in complete immobility; the rearing horses are rooted to the ground; the riders have the same fixity that one observes in John Hawkwood on his great horse in the pictorial monument in Santa Maria del Fiore. Paolo's battle-scenes, their action suspended in mid-air, are the immediate forerunners of Piero della Francesca's pictures.

Andrea del Castagno (about 1390–1457) has a cruder and more energetic style than Uccello. He accentuates modelling and designs his powerful figures like tree-trunks shaped by the axe and the plane. His sharp rough outlines have the appearance of being traced by a thin metal point; the folds of his garments have the quality of paper; the influence of Donatello is obvious, not only in the decoration of the architectural backgrounds, but also in the whole schematic character of the pictures.

Piero della Francesca (about 1416–1490) was the greatest pioneer in the victory over space; both in practice and theory he was one of the originators of perspective. His compositions are real architecture, his figures have a perfect regularity of density; masses are attenuated in perspective so as to give greater effect with contrasting colours. Sunlight lends transparency to his alabaster skin, to his marble;

the clear sky is milky blue; his garments glow with the freshest and purest colours, old rose, ivory and white in contrast to amarynth, dark blue and black. Everything from the decorations of a capital to the knuckles of a hand is delicately done and touched with light. In the great peace of noon, his shadows are sharply thrown upon the landscape, reflected by the red and gold marbles of a pave-

ROME. ST. PETER'S (MELOZZO DA FORLÌ)

ment or by the still mirror of a stream; the human figure, rooted to the soil like a tree, seems to live a hushed life in the great silence of this dumb landscape, where waters do not flow, the shadows do not move and the scorching air stifles. The attitudes of his figures are always petrified; and trying to imagine the slightest change in their balance we recognise that should even an arm make a movement, a complete change of pose would be necessary to re-establish

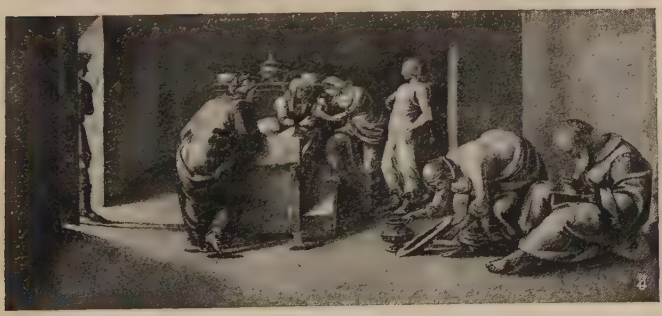
the balance. Such a profound sense of harmonious measure has no precedent in Italian art.

Melozzo da Forlì (1431–1494) is a pupil of Piero della Francesca, but he really does not understand his master's art; he creates a type of heroic beauty, and abandons the august and personal type. He changes Piero's abstract grandeur into a human grandeur. At first he stamps his

ROME. BASILICA OF SAN PIETRO
(MELOZZO DA FORLÌ)

figures with the character of sacred images, but he soon begins to create characters tingling with life and complicated backgrounds, for ever renouncing the calm and the superhuman beings that are the glory of Piero. The architecture of the fresco representing the inauguration of the Sistine Library, in its splendid breadth, has the heroic emphasis typical of Melozzo, who, more than any other artist of the *Quattrocento*, foreshadows the next century.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI. HOLY FAMILY (LUCA SIGNORELLI)



PARIS. LOUVRE. THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN
(LUCA SIGNORELLI)

In the apse of the Santi Apostoli, Christ is painted rising in triumph over a shining throng of jubilant cherubs, amongst choirs of apostles and golden-haired angels. The vault has the appearance of opening the way to eternity.

The frequent use of foreshortening, the study of movement in space, still obstructed by heavy figures, prepares the way for sixteenth-century ceiling decoration; so that

London. National Gallery.
Apollo and Daphne (Pollaiuolo)

when Correggio poises his Virgin with open arms amongst the circle of the Blessed he is only continuing the work of the Romagnol master.

Melozzo fascinates the Romans with his warm human figures, the splendour of his smooth colours and the heroic emphasis of his faces. Lorenzo, of Viterbo, very close to Piero in his lean and stiffly incised forms, Antoniazzo degli Aquili, a Roman, Donato Bramante in his youthful essays at painting, all work within Melozzo's circle.

Luca Signorelli, with his titanic art (about 1441–1523), starting under the influence of Piero della Francesca, produces entirely opposite effects and stands alone. He abandons the immobility of the master and gives his figures nerves, bones and muscles; he designs ferocious battles, he neglects spaces once again and gives all his attention to the human figure. Antonio Pollaiuolo's roughly hewn outlines teach

Milan. Poldi Pezzoli. Portrait of an Unknown Lady (Antonio Pollaiuolo)

him a unique energy of modelling. With him relief, weakened by Piero's perspective, almost regains its old power. In the importance he gives to the human figure, in the life he gives to joints and muscles, in the daring of his movement, and the suggestion of colour he gives to relief, Luca must be considered the immediate precursor of Michelangelo. Every muscle lives and acts with such energy that his bodies have the appearance of being skinned; every

muscle is stripped and isolated with Michelangelo's vigour. In the *Circumcision* at London the very architecture has something of this violent life. The excited exaltation of the old priest, the vigour of the prophets with their fluttering scrolls in the *tondi* are brought into harmony with the shell basin, scooped out by deep shadows and covered with ribs like veins, and surrounded by cornices of stone that expand over the grouped figures. Piero's impassiveness is no more; the characters are excited and troubled; fingers are curved to pluck a lute, to turn the page of a book, to twine a crown of roses; at Orvieto the muscles are drawn and stretched like the strings of a sensitive instrument. This tormented human life, in which sorrow takes the place of Piero's classical calm, is accompanied by bright colours that lend their own pulsing life to the movement of the design.

Whilst outside Florence this tendency towards plastic movement is developing, in Florence itself two sculptor-painters, Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea Verrocchio, strike out in another direction.

Pollaiuolo is related to Piero della Francesca, as Andrea del Castagno to Paolo Uccello. That is to say he accentuates reliefs and colours, violently curves the limbs of his struggling giants, breaks his lines and gives a tortured vitality to his figures. Andrea Verrocchio (1435–1488) follows the same tendency, but with a greater reserve. He tones down Pollajuolo's lines that achieve their movement with violent fracture of outline and a daring contrast of straight and curved lines; he perfects the art of shading figures, thereby giving them a spiritual refinement. Whilst this tendency develops along the various lines of Masaccio's modelling, and of the very different monumental stasis or passionate movement, the Peselli, Filippo Lippi and Benozzo Gozzoli strike a compromise between the styles of Beato Angelico and Masaccio and go their own way according to their own particular temperaments.

The Peselli, and particularly Francesco Pesellino, merely reduce Masaccio's style to graceful accurate miniature painting.

Filippo Lippi (about 1406–1469) also reduces Masaccio's

FLORENCE. PITTI. MADONNA AND CHILD
(FILIPPO LIPPI)

SAN GIMIGNANO. COLLEGIATA. THE DEATH OF
S. FINA (DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO)

scale. His faces are portraits, and his attitudes well worked out, restrained and appropriate to the scene. Art and religion are, for him, two expressions of human common sense, his imaginative ideal chiefly reduces itself to the family affections, in representing which he is a master.

Benozzo Gozzoli (about 1420–1497) has a knowledge of form, *chiaroscuro* and attitudes inferior to that of Filippo Lippi, but he excels that artist in his narrative, in his gay costumes and colourings, in his innate interest in various types. In the Palazzo Riccardi frescoes at Florence he paints one of the most charming scenes extant of the rich, gay, thoughtless life of the fifteenth-century Italian courts.

Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–1494) takes his departure from Benozzo Gozzoli and Filippo Lippi for his researches into the characterisation of faces, of a more faithful reproduction of Florentine costume, of accuracy of architectural background. From his charming Santa Fina frescoes at San Gimignano to the elegant decoration of his work in Santa Maria Novella he strikes a gentle, calm, rather serious note.

Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), Filippo's son, leaves the poetry of the family scenes painted by his father for a personal style in which he contorts figures and emaciates faces to create the impression of sensibility, and paints his elongated forms in a new languor of attitude, quite forsaking the traditional balance. He obtains a nervous refinement of line from his vigorous painting, adopting, nevertheless, a confused and illogical arrangement of scene. In Rome the gentle Filippino becomes quite baroque. In the mosaics round the *Vergine Assunta* in the Carafa Chapel of Santa Maria sopra Minerva the rhythmic dance of Botticelli's angels becomes a mere ruffling of flying veils, a tussle of contrary winds.

Sandro Botticelli, essentially a painter of lines in movement, succeeds in creating a new rhythm, thus closing the researches of a whole line of Florentine artists from Donatello to Antonio Pollaiuolo. He finds full expression for his refined art in certain secular aristocratic subjects in favour at Lorenzo de' Medici's court. Poliziano's *Stanze* take form

Florence. Uffizi. Primavera (Botticelli)

Rome. The Sistine Chapel (Botticelli)

in his allegorical picture *Primavera:* Venus spied by Love; the dancing Graces; Mercury dispeller of clouds; Flora pursued by Zephyr; Spring in a white flower-embroidered robe; smiling flowers in the wood; a background of orange groves full of golden fruit; a wonderful festal scene. The winged grace of Poliziano's poetry and the miraculous agility of Botticelli's line here unite to give us a living image of the elegant aesthetic Florence of the fifteenth century. The quick feet trip over the grass and the flowers without crushing them, the darting line catches the playful pranks of the wind as it caresses the garments, the flying locks and the flowers of this magic landscape. In the *Birth of Venus*, the sea, the sky and the myrtle grove form a magnificent fifteenth-century background for an allegory in Poliziano's manner. Purple roses fly in the breath of the Zephyrs, myriad white wavelets like a flight of birds pass over the water, touched in with short formal lines. With this effect of sea-birds beating their white wings over the waters, Sandro creates the play of luminous reflections of a wrinkled sea, over which Venus in her white shell advances with typical sliding movement with her great sheaf of golden locks shimmering against the rosy pallor of her flesh. A curious consequence of Botticelli's lineal scheme of this period is the strange languid neurotic type, painted with rigid outline and narrow dreamy eyes set obliquely in the face.

In his last phase, Sandro diminishes the size of his figures still more, he spreads his line in metallic threads and hardens it to achieve the greatest effect of tension and energy. The more his forms tend to dissolve, so much more does his outline acquire stiffness and definition. A whirlwind scatters the hesitating figures, sweeps them over so that the groups may achieve tempestuous line. Only the genius of a Botticelli could make such a style live on Italian soil; it puts an end to, and supersedes, the researches after movement that were the great interest of the fifteenth century in Florence. The style finishes on the death of its creator and on the resurrection of a forgotten classical world at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

ROME. PALLAVICINI COLLECTION: THE OUTCAST (BOTTICELLI)

ROME. FRESCO. SISTINE CHAPEL. CHASTISEMENT OF THE SONS OF AARON (BOTTICELLI)

The Pallavicini collection at Rome boasts a rare picture by Botticelli: the *Outcast*. This picture is not admitted as a genuine Botticelli by many, on account of its surprising modernity; as though such a character was unreconcilable with the temperament of the painter of the *Birth of Venus*, and of the *predella* of San Barnabà. The broad, clean background consists in a bare, grey palace-wall, stiffly outlined in precise divisions. Two actors, so to speak, take part in the drama: the inconsolable woman and the house inexorably closed against her. The crude precision of every architectural detail creates an effect of great elasticity. The precise edges of the stone benches, the fine groups of mouldings, and the deeply graved interstices between the bricks, all share this quality. Evident imprints of Botticelli's genius are to be recognised in the rapid ascent of the steps without pause, the emphasis of the arch between the naked walls and the hollow cavity of the Brunelleschi porch. Even the damp patches on the bricks and pavements reveal Botticelli's swelling, soaring movement.

On the plinth of the house, a woman sits sobbing. Her head is buried in her hands, the sensitive left foot pressed against the ground, the face is hidden in the black twining hair. The convulsed figure is drawn in a wild broken line, the bushy locks fall in a torrent over her face. The spikes defending the house-door are an accompaniment to the zigzag of the figure.

The garments, scattered on the steps with their crumpled torn hems, still realistically showing the marks of the feverish hands that have lacerated them, and a patch of light unexpectedly breaking the shadow of the porch, complete this restrained, but suggestive, picture. The *Primavera* and the *Birth of Venus* show us Botticelli as a lyrical poet of the Tuscan *Maggiolate;* the *Outcast* is a drama of unparalleled power — the closed door in the wall, the woman veiled with her black hair are irresistibly suggestive of mystery. The forlorn creature's sobs echo within the deep archway, and break against the rigid, silent door, that will never, never open to her. The grey of the weather-stained wall, the cold quality of the few lights, the

NEW YORK. PRIVATE COLLECTION
(SASSETTA)

CHANTILLY. MUSEUM CONDÉ. GROUPS OF ANGELS
(GIOVANNI DI PAOLO)

white ivory of the robe, the intense black of the hair well illustrate the tragic desperation of that weeping which brings no response.

. . . . . .

In Siena, after the fourteenth century, the local school of painting that had not shared in the great advance in plastic form and movement that had been taking place at Florence continues to produce with ingenuity and reverent care paintings in the old style. The best-known representatives of this style are: Domenico di Bartolo, Giovanni di Stefano, called Sassetta, Sano di Pietro, Giovanni di Paolo, Matteo di Giovanni, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Neroccio di Lando, and Francesco di Giorgio Martini.

Sassetta, on account of his careful arrangements, his spiritual calm, and the grace of his faces, may be considered as a Sienese Pesellino, who, although concealing it behind perfect balance and form, appreciates the refined Gothic style of Siena. In this light he may be studied in his triptychs in the *Osservanza*, and in the Saracini Gallery, treasures of fifteenth-century Sienese work with their slim forms, gentle profiles, and clear milky colours; and in his *Birth of the Virgin* at Asciano, bright with golden brocades and multicoloured patterns, remarkable for an alabaster transparency.

Inferior to Sassetta, but deliciously ingenuous and decorative, Giovanni di Paolo paints a series of slim figures disporting themselves in the garden of Paradise (see the picture in the Palmieri Nuti Gallery at Siena), ladies and gentlemen, monks, and angels with fringed robes trailing over the flowers, pointed golden wings, little tight mouths and clean-cut profiles. He has an original conception of landscape — a chess-board of ploughed fields at the foot of ridged hills — sharp zigzag roads winding away in the distance. He often attains delicious colour-harmonies with his ashen complexions and pale violets, his washy blues, powdery greens, and pale half-tones that are the greatest attraction of his miniatures in the *Antifonario* in the library of Siena. Sometimes, as in his *Birth of the Virgin* (Doria Gallery)

ROME. FRESCO. SISTINE CHAPEL. CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER (PERUGINO)

ROME. THE VATICAN. APPARTAMENTO BORGIA. FRESCO (PINTURICCHIO)

and in his pictures of the life of Christ in the Vatican, although keeping his usual pale complexions, he sounds gay notes in the majolica pavement and in his gold and purple fruits.

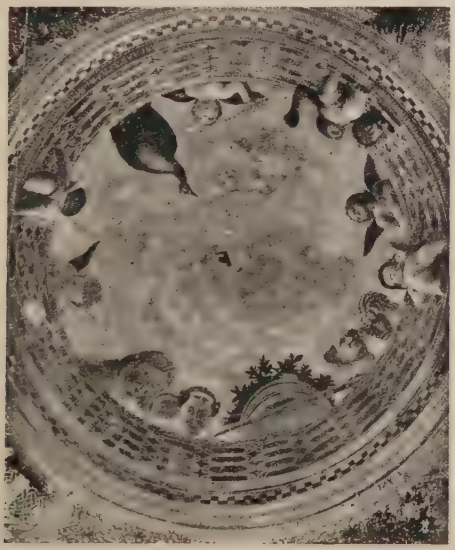
In the second half of the century the precious Sienese refinement of line and colour is well illustrated in the art of Neroccio di Landi. He paints slender aristocratic Madonnas

PADUA. EREMITANI. FRESCO (MANTEGNA)

with transparent pallid complexions and formal gestures. One of his best works is the triptych in the Academy at Siena, in which the design of the central group harmonises with the elegant dividing columns made of slim vases, flowers, and tapering stems.

A great contrast to the excessive refinement of this painter is the imaginative fervour and rapid composition of his old fellow-craftsman, the vivacious Francesco di Giorgio. Although he can hardly be said to have reached the same

excellence in his painting as he did in his sculpture and architecture, one has only to glance at the circle of clouds whirled by four angels beneath the figures of Christ and the crowned Virgin (Academy of Siena) to recognise the architect who gave such vitality to the churches of San Bernardino and the Madonna del Calcinaio, and the brilliant sculptor of the little angels stooping under the flower-like



MANTUA. DUCAL PALACE. FRESCO (MANTEGNA)

candlesticks at each side of the altar in Siena Cathedral. The tangle of bright curls, the sharp profile of the faces, the wedge-like figures, the clear threads in the veils, all show, even in the paintings, an attempt to break up lights and create with colours the effect of the myriad reflections that he achieves in his marvellous bronzes.

A follower of the vivid Matteo di Giovanni (as is also the refined Guidoccio Cozzarelli), Benvenuto di Giovanni del Guasta sometimes seems to cut his angular figures and wild

drapery with a constructive sense of form rare in Sienese art. In the figure of Anna in an altar front in the Academy of Siena, this constructive sense appears to a surprising degree. As seen from the back, wrapped in her cloak, the figure is worthy of Mantegna or Ercole de' Roberti. Another example of this excellence may be studied in the *Madonna and Saints* in San Domenico at Siena.

He had, in fact, felt the influence of Mantegna through the miniatures of Liberale da Verona and Girolamo da Cremona in the psalters of Siena Cathedral. It is certainly from Liberale that he takes the baroque flutterings of the mantle in the *God the Father*, and the enormous ruffianly head in the *Presepe of Montepulciano*, in which a deliciously childish Virgin, cut like crystal with her clinging robe and veil, is praying in a glassy landscape. To realise the ability of this singular painter with his crude sharp lines and crystalline lights, one must study the *Resurrection of Christ* in Sant' Eugenio at Siena. In this picture three armed men rise from the level of the tomb to the cornice; they produce a confused violent effect in their shining armour, in striking contrast with the stiff lines of the landscape and of the risen Christ.

Benedetto Bonfigli and Matteo da Gualdo in Umbria, Giovanni Boccatis in the Marches adopt the same style.

Finally, through the influence of Piero della Francesca, the art of Pietro Perugino (1446–1523) is firmly established. This artist is a delicate seeker after grace and sweetness in his poses and types; a painter of sacred groups against a background of clear morning sky, and the limpid waters of Trasimeno. After his clear youthful works, Perugino continues to paint with careful symmetry of pose and constrained rhythmic line. His mystical figures stoop in languor, and gaze with sweet bewildered eyes under their curved lids.

Followers of Perugino were Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, who abandoned his old style to imitate him, and Bernardino di Betto, called Il Pinturicchio (1454–1513), who, although less able, made use of a brilliant palette with seductive and varied effect. In the Borgia apartment, his greatest work

MILAN. BRERA. MADONNA AND CHILD
(C. CRIVELLI)

in Rome, the sun is seen raining golden rays, and covering hills and meadows with shimmering lights; the figures are clothed in cloth of gold and their fair hair is loose; in the blue friezes there is a gay richness of ornament. Pinturicchio loves colour, he feels the pleasure of a jeweller in it; he borrows from the mosaic-workers the splendour of their cubes; from the tapestry-weavers shimmering stuffs,

London. National Gallery: Allegorical Figure (Cosimo Tura)

flowered materials, brocades, and damasks; from the marble-workers their lapis lazuli and emerald greens; from the prevailing fashion the coloured veils, the multicoloured striped materials, the hemming and embroidery; from the goldsmiths their necklaces, chains, girdles, plaques, drops, and the whole battery of their knick-knacks. He takes little care in the construction of his figures, and the arrangement of his space. It is a dithyramb he sings with his lavish colours.

At Padua, the school of Squarcione was formed under Donatello's influence. The greatest exponent of this style was Andrea Mantegna (1420–1506), the first Venetian artist to study relief and the effects of painted sculpture. It is true that, lacking the Florentine tradition, Mantegna does not achieve the refinement, the taste and the impeccable design of the Tuscans; but at the same time the want of

Ferrara. Pinacoteca.
St. Jerome
(Francesco del Cossa)

a scientific apprenticeship gives freer scope for his passionate appreciation of Roman grandeur. The founder of humanistic painting in North Italy, he begins his work full of enthusiasm for the antique. He takes Donatello's figures and Romanises them, simplifies construction, and subdues the action. He tries to force nature into unison with the mighty figures of antiquity. A good example is to be found in the *Triumph of Caesar* at Hampton Court: a procession

of giants that seems to shake the earth in its passage. Mantegna's *iconografia* is at first full of emotional gravity, of profound silence and power; later, his figures take on an almost romantic pathos of sentimental sadness, against a background of cloudy skies and fruit-laden pergolas. In his latest phases, Correggio's voluptuousness can be observed in process of evolution from an art akin to Donatello's.

Milan. Castello Sforzesco.
Madonna and Child (Vincenzo Foppa)

The style of Squarcione and Mantegna spreads rapidly, with Bartolomeo Vivarini and Carlo Crivelli at Venice, Cosimo Tura and Francesco del Cossa at Ferrara, Vincenzo Foppa at Brescia and Milan, Liberale at Verona.

Carlo Crivelli paints scenes decorated with marbles and precious metals. His precious images, stiff and angular, reign over a world of the imagination in which garments are like beaten gold or streaked jasper, veils like sheets of crystal, and fruits like shining alabaster. His slender schematic

figures, the stiff perpendicular design, the high note of metallic colours, the incisive signature like a *graffito* traced by a diamond on crystal, the admirable arrangement of his oblong surfaces and vertical lines in the oblong shape of the whole picture unite to make the *Virgin* in the Brera a typical example of the fine design and decorative splendour of this remarkable painter.

TREVIGLIO. CATHEDRAL. DETAIL
(ZENALE AND BUTINONE)

The Ferrarese Cosimo Tura, a harsh, crude artist, strips his figures of most of their flesh, crumples up his draperies, paints the Dantesque rocks and the transparent mountains of his arid landscapes, the ground, and all else in shining enamels. The vigour of his uncompromising outline corresponds to the clash of his colours, as often as not blood-red jasper and intense green malachite.

In the art of Francesco del Cossa, the Ferrarese brilliance

of colour is seen in all its splendour. His first works, as the *St. Jerome* in the Pinacoteca at Ferrara, and some portions of fresco in the Schifanoia palace are designed with a calm architectural balance; but later he tends more and more towards restless action and a variety of effect, breaking the buildings of his backgrounds, and fluttering locks and garments in the wind, as in his Vatican *predella* crusted with translucent enamels. Vincenzo Foppa initiates the Lombard Renaissance in his primitive picture of the Madonna and Child with angels. He chooses a favourite theme of the full Gothic period, a scene in a garden, with groups of little angels surrounding the Virgin. But with typical Lombard seriousness he transforms the arabesque of tiny angels and flowers of Stefano of Verona into a stretch of deserted country. Mantegna's influence leads the Brescian master, in the same way as it had done the artists of Ferrara, to paint complicated bunched folds, and compose Madonna and Child groups as though they were bas-reliefs. But whilst the Ferrarese enlivens Mantegna's colour with precious enamels and tones down his harsh forms, the Lombard painter moderates tints with *chiaroscuro* and gives a soft fulness to his figures. He streaks the leaden clouds of the weird landscape of his *Crucifixion* in the *Accademia Carrara* with light, he graduates the stormy sky, lighting torches in the shape of little conical trees along the rugged slope; behind the thoughtful Madonna belonging to Mr. Berenson, he picks out the arras with threads of gold, and the curls of the Child's head, and the embroideries on the hems of the garments with threads as fine as glass. In his picture of *St. Jerome* in the *Accademia Carrara*, every splinter of rock shines with a silvery sparkle in the moonlight night. In the picture of the new-born Mary in the *Cappella della Vergine* in S. Pietro in Gessate, he paints a maid-servant drying the linen before the fire with an ineffably pale rose glow. A spontaneous, secure modeller, the grave Foppa in the peaceful spirit of his pictures and the fervour of his scattered lights affirms the most profound and lasting characteristics of Lombard painting.

Zenale and Butinone paint in a different spirit. Zenale

MILAN. BRERA. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS (BORGOGNONE)

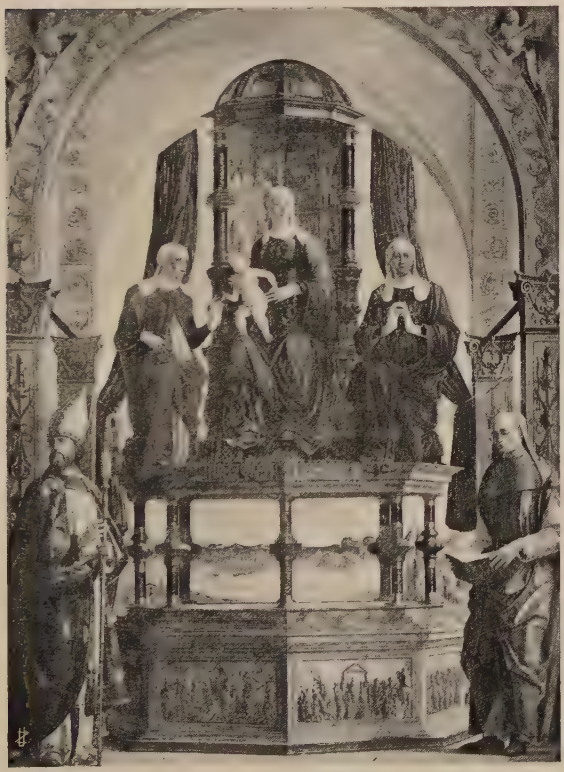
MILAN. AMBROSIANA. MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS (BRAMANTINO)

concentrates all the Lombard decorative splendour in his architectural backgrounds. The balconies, from behind whose beautifully wrought balustrades saints in splendid raiment appear, reflecting the colours of the background, seem to be made of lace and metal, brass and gold. There is no painter who has carried the passion of the Lombard architects for ornament and colours to a greater extreme than Zenale. And no other artist has approached so near to Omodeo in modelling his balcony columns with golden foliage and carving. No one foreshadows the sumptuous stuffs and the light-effects of the Brescian painters more than the artist who created the golden embroideries and magnificent brocade of Santa Lucia, and Santa Caterina's brilliant golden raiment trimmed with dark velvet.

In Borgognone's ingenuous art all harshness of line, of shadow, or of colour is avoided. He exchanges Foppa's strong *chiaroscuro* for a gentle monotony of colour, and Zenale's brilliant tints for a delicate ashen pallor. It is as though the mists of the Ticino, of whose melancholy landscapes he is such an exquisite interpreter in his altar-pieces, had thrown a veil over the graceful figures with their quiet looks and loving gestures.

In Lombardy the *Quattrocento* comes to a glorious close with the courtly art of Bartolomeo Suardi, *detto il* Bramantino. Although he works in the *Cinquecento*, his abstract compositions are typical of the preceding century. From the *Ecce Homo* of the Mayno collection, as crude in outline as the fragments of rock that contrast with the white sky, to the *Lucrezia* of Casa Soranzo, a large figure in a full dress, very different from the restrained horizontal architecture of the background, Bramantino maintains his geometrical point of view. In this he outstrips the dying century and forecasts the new. From his first works, the *Ecce Homo*, the story of *Philemon and Baucis* in the Cologne Museum, the *Prophets* in San Domenico Maggiore at Naples, with their bony figures and crude wooden forms, to the transition work, the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Brera, in which the stone framework and the human limbs make up a wonderful balanced architecture, to his sixteenth-century

Dresden Gallery. The Way to Calvary
(Ercole de' Roberti)



Milan. Brera. Altarpiece (Ercole de' Roberti)

works in which languid figures in dense draperies are posed against the diamond clarity of a rectilinear architectural background, Bramantino makes a continual progress. He makes his figures so slender that their silken garments seem to shadow forth an internal light. This balanced art springs up as if by miracle in the same place where the complicated decoration and fine chequered colour of Omodeo

PALERMO. MADONNA. MUSEO NAZIONALE
(ANTONELLO DA MESSINA)

and the Lombardi once flourished. We give here as an example the Ambrosiana triptych, in which the towered buildings of the background correspond step by step to the design of the human figures. The saints disposed around the Virgin's marble throne are arranged with the balance of a Master.

Meanwhile, in 1475, Antonello da Messina arrives in Venice. He is a capable architect of clear geometrical

design, and an acute portrait-painter. Above all he is a modeller who makes use of sunlight, not in the same way as the Flemish painters to enliven soft velvet shadows, but to isolate his marble architecture from the background: sublime example, the reading Virgin of Palermo. The bust is solitary against a dark background, a stiffly folded veil falls on to the table that is the foundation of the design.

MILAN. COLLECTION OF PRINCE TRIVULZIO (ANTONELLO DA MESSINA)

The mantle is painted with great regularity of cylindrical folds; the pure oval face, lit up by the sun, stands out against the dark windings of the mantle; the lips are strongly modelled, the eyelids are convex, like silken shells over the dark, languorous, Arabian eyes. The right hand, in a gesture of surprise, pauses timidly at the edge of the shadow. Every detail of the composition is arranged with architectural precision. The reading-desk, a little removed

from the centre of the picture, and the still figure form an indivisible whole, lying within a cone-shaped plan on the central axis of the composition. The pages of the half-open book make a semicircle of light in the shadow. There is a restrained balance between the inclination of the hands and face, and the arrangement of the long shining folds: essential elements of the whole crystal-clear construction.

Vicenza. Museo Civico. Altarpiece
(Bartolomeo Montagna)

In this way the Sicilian exalted the plastic value of the figure, bringing to its aid the effects of light, a very powerful instrument in the hands of this great artist.

Amongst his portraits, we should like to mention the one in the Trivulzio collection. The head is modelled in brick-red and seems hardly able to rise under the weight of the close-fitting black cap, painted so as to give the figure a greater definition. The strained action of the tired

eyelids and the close line of the lips fit in well with the strained head. The protruding lids, the wrinkles at the corners of the eyes, and the blue shadow along the mouth are not painted with that minute detail that we note in the portrait of an old man at Cefalù. Two deep lines run from the nostrils to the mouth and another from the corner of the eye, but they are both subsidiary to the general

VICENZA. MUSEO CIVICO. ALTARPIECE
(CIMA DA CONEGLIANO)

vigorous design. The shaggy brows of tufted hair are in perspective. The perfect curve of the cap frames the brow and corresponds to the flatter curves of the eyelids over the inquiring eyes. The vigorously chiselled head suggests that the sitter, with a great effort of will, has had to overcome the tremors of old age so as not to disturb his upright pose. The square shape of the figure explains the man's character, as it does in the portrait of the Condottiere in the Louvre. In the intimate cohesion of details arranged

with great simplicity, Antonello da Messina always expresses his classical idealism. As a creator of an abstract world of pure crystal, he affirms in the fifteenth century the constructive principles based on metrical balance which he shares with a few curiously similar artists: Piero della Francesca, the sculptors Francesco Laurana and Antonio Rizzo, the architect Luciano Laurana.

Alvise Vivarini, a Venetian, Bartolomeo Montagna of Vicenza and Cima da Conegliano adapt Antonello's art to the Venetian taste. That is to say they add a rich vein of poetical sentiment to formal construction. In a similar way Ercole de' Roberti and Lorenzo Costa at Ferrara and Bologna, and Gentile Bellini at Venice gradually abandon Mantegna's style in varying degrees in order to give concision to their pictures.

Ercole de' Roberti, an elegant balanced painter, works in a Ferrara dominated by the crude energy of Tura. In his first pictures he paints slender architectural frameworks reminiscent of Brunelleschi's Renaissance. These may be studied in his slender figures, stiff outlines and smooth surfaces, such as Rosselli paints. He models long, oval figures with slim hands transparent as leaves against the light. He marks in the folds of his garments heavily, but expresses great care over his harmonious designs. Giovanni Bellini's calm humanity can be seen in the pure faces of his John Evangelist (*Accademia Carrara*) and his Madonna Adoring Jesus (Berlin Museum). In the Passion scenes of the San Giovanni in Monte *predella* (part at Dresden and part at Liverpool), and of the Berlin Baptist, his calm is changed to an emotional stress. The sandy deserts and the wild running groups (*Way to Calvary*), the dark rocks, the serious groups of the Marys, the groaning figure of the Baptist, are all thrown strongly into relief by a flaming sky. A remarkable tendency to paint patches of colour and impressions of light in misty atmospheres may be seen in the *Pietà*, in the Liverpool Gallery, painted by Ercole de' Roberti; a tendency shared by his Lombard contemporaries. Behind the sublime central group of this picture there crowd around the slender crosses numbers of

VENICE. CHURCH OF THE FRARI. MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH ANGELS (GIOVANNI BELLINI)

MILAN. BRERA. PIETÀ (GIOVANNI BELLINI)

little figures outlined against the light as though they had been blown in glass.

Lorenzo Costa gradually changes from his troubled figures in Tura's manner to the modelled, energetic forms of Antonello. The latter inspires him to create his *Giovanni Bentivoglio*, in the National Gallery at Florence, and the saints, Sebastian and George, of his altarpiece in San Petronio at Bologna. In his last pictures he descends to slender tottering figures washed over with translucent shadow, to easy geometry of design and mannered rhythm of line.

Giovanni Bellini (1430–1516) creates peerless harmonies of colour and expresses a particular kind of religious sentiment that is half moral elevation and half respect for Church authority. His chief works are at Venice and Milan. He gives his faces the clear light of inherent goodness, he designs calm, shrinking poses full of grace. Nevertheless, he can rise to the intense lyrical sorrow of the *Pietà* in the Brera. In this picture it seems as if a breath passes from the bloodless lips of the Virgin to the livid lips of Christ. This distant reflection of Mantegna's pathos is exceptional in Bellini's art. His usual calm reasserts itself by contact with Antonello's painting, in the poetic *Pietà* at Berlin. Here the sleeping head of Christ lies between the heads of two youthful angels, in a curve, repeated with magnificent breadth by the great white wings that seem to lift the group from the earth. A mute prayer and an impression of divine tenderness glow in the large thoughtful eyes. There are no desperate cries nor spasmodic convulsions around the Victim, only a silent murmur of prayers. Bellini's Madonnas gaze at their children in the same spirit of peace. They acquire a dignity from the golden reflections of the Byzantine apses in which they are placed. His youthful works are full of a fresh morning light. His snow-white *Santa Giustina* is hung between the cold light of pearls and of the spring sky; the pearly clarity of the clouds in the landscape of the *Transfiguration* is in harmony with the white-robed figure of Christ. He seems about to rise up from the earth to join them in the limpid sky. In his last

VENICE. ACADEMY. MIRACLE OF THE RELIC OF THE HOLY CROSS (GENTILE BELLINI)

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY. ST. URSULA LEAVING HER FATHER (CARPACCIO)

works these white tones disappear, and his colour becomes golden; his complexions take on the appearance of amber; the air is full of the reflections of the red curtains of the background and the golden shimmer of the niches. The whole atmosphere is one incomparable fusion of tender lights.

Vittor Carpaccio paints the Venetian festivals of his time, and describes the palaces and the lagoons with great vivacity and an inexhaustible power of narrative. In his *Stories of St. Ursula*, and later in his *Stories of St. Jerome* and of *St. George*, the artist paints into his ceremonious scenes everything that happens to strike his eye along the streets and wharfs of Venice. The shimmer of the little waves of the lagoons seems to ripple over his flesh, and trace the veins of his marbles and the wavy lines in his silks. In the picture of *St. Ursula leaving her Father*, previously in the Layard collection, the anguish of the characters seems to be mirrored in the cloudy sky reflected in the quiet waters, and the shadow of the ship; the houses in the distance swim in a kind of powdery light. The first great picturer of the Venetian lagoons and picturesque architecture, the first interpreter of the atmosphere and the costumes of Venice, Vittor Carpaccio is the distant precursor of Antonio Canal and the magic Guardi.

The Bolognese Francesco Francia brings a grace into his art similar to Perugino's ideal, he clothes his white monkish figures with sparkling colours with the skill of a goldsmith.

These are the masters of those great artists who so gloriously opened the next century. Leonardo traces artistic descent to Verrocchio, Raphael to Perugino, and indirectly by Timoteo della Vite to Francia; Michelangelo to Bertoldo and Signorelli; Correggio to Bianchi-Ferrari, Mantegna and Costa; Giorgione and Titian to Giovanni Bellini.

## III

## SCULPTURE

The Pisan hegemony in sculpture ends with the fourteenth century; its glory is inherited by Florence. The moment of passage from Gothic to Renaissance art can be studied in the works of Lorenzo Ghiberti, Filippo Brunelleschi's conqueror in the competition that took place in 1402 for the decoration of the second door of the Florentine Baptistery. The grace of Gothic curves can be recognised in the tortuous attitudes of his figures, in his flowing folds, and in the concave wings of his angels; his gentle figures maintain a subtle grace. But when the sculptor sets himself to model a flower or a fruit, he applies himself to the task in a spirit of objective reproduction. He loves glorifying a background of a bas-relief with Roman architecture. Placed between two generations and two opposed ideals, endowed with extreme versatility, he can create works so very diverse as the reliefs of the Siena font. In the *Baptism of Christ* in one of the panels of that font, the bony body and sinewy arm of the Baptist on one side, two female figures on the other, and flocks of clouds and angels above form a fantastic cornice that is almost ogive and the lofty arch within which shimmers the gracious graceful figure of Christ. The figures are almost lost in the soft decorative line. In the *Arrest of the Baptist*, however, the attention of the artist is fully taken up by the Roman soldiers, the Roman armour and the crisp curling hair. But Lorenzo Ghiberti's most fascinating works are not so much these reliefs of a classical type, but rather those in which a delicate calligraphy of line takes precedence. Such are the *Baptism of Christ* at Siena and the panel of the history of Abraham carved for the third door of the Florentine Baptistery, with its three sickle-shaped angels and the slender trunks of the pine trees. The second and third doors of the Florentine Baptistery,

that were, and still are, the most glorious works of this artist, were called by Michelangelo the "Gates of Paradise."

Jacopo della Quercia (1374–1438) of Siena is almost a contemporary of Ghiberti, but he is a much more daring innovator. The spirit of ancient Etruscan art, a love for strong relief, and vigour of subject seem to be innate in him. In 1406 he designs the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto

Florence. Baptistery: Second Door
(Lorenzo Ghiberti)

in the church of San Martino at Lucca. The shape of the tomb, the *putti*, and the garlands are Etruscan and Roman designs. The great force of the monument comes from the grand and striking lines of the recumbent figure, and from the leonine heads of the children who bear the heavy load of garlands in different attitudes. His designs soon become monumental, as may be seen in San Petronio at Bologna and in the Fonte Gaia at Siena. The greatest of the great Tuscan sculptors of the *Quattrocento*, he achieves action by

accentuation of line; the faces of his statues have the decided features that we associate with Michelangelo. Under the mobile arch of the brow, the protruding eyes seem to flash fire with a lifelike energy, as in Giovanni Pisano's statues. In his group on the great door of San Petronio, the sudden rebellion of a child flying from his mother is like a germ of Michelangelo's effects of contrast. The

FLORENCE. BAPTISTERY: THIRD DOOR
(LORENZO GHIBERTI)

hooked profile of the gloomy figure of the Bentivoglio monument reminds one, in the curve of the neck and the lowered head, of the lines of Michelangelo's *Night;* the Gothic curve of the body is resolved in opposing movements and thereby expresses a superhuman vigour. In Jacopo's bas-relief great energy is also displayed in the play of his forms, partly adhering to the background with medallion-like distinction, partly standing out rebelliously in strong vital relief. The figure of Adam, for example, defends himself with magnifi-

cent violence from the angel who is driving him back; in the ferocious, drawn features, and in every detail of the body, breathes the spirit of revolt. In the *Presepio* all the figures of the principal group — the Virgin, the animals, the little Hercules with shining eyes, the rocks outlining the cave — take part in one laboured movement that drags in one and the same direction the straining neck of the ox, the roughly drawn ass's head with set jaws, and the child with his round head sunk in his shoulders like a little bull making ready to charge. The pre-Donatellian group of Mother and Child in the *Flight into Egypt* was never equalled by Donato or excelled by Michelangelo. Here the Mother, with her keen face pressed to the face of her Child, the shoulders bent under the cornice as though weighed down by a yoke, the burning glance are expressions in detail of the restrained energy of the whole piece. Michelangelo, a pupil of Bertoldo, and a Florentine, is to recognise in this great Sienese the echo nearest to himself of the old Etruscan spirit, and at the same time the most vigorous artist of the new style of sculpture.

The last traces of the Gothic tradition of sculpture are destroyed by Donatello (1386–1466), who for fifty years imposes his own art on Italy as a national art. Although not completely free from Gothic memories, he attains great grandeur and plastic energy even in his earliest works, the *St. John Evangelist* in the cathedral and the marble *David* in the *Museo Nazionale* at Florence. In his statues of old men, as the *Zuccone* on the *Campanile* of the *Duomo* of Florence, he finds an opportunity to display his profound anatomical knowledge by means of heavy shadows and powerful muscles. He is Brunelleschi's companion at Rome in his researches into classical architecture and sculpture. These researches lead him to square his figures, to adopt straight lines and abandon once and for all the traditional Gothic convention. Donatello is intoxicated with the ancient art he finds at Rome, and he spreads its influence to Florence and Padua where his own works in the church of *Il Santo*, and those of all the artists who came into touch with him (amongst others Andrea Mantegna) speak forcibly of Roman symmetry. In bas-relief Donatello invents the pictorial

Lucca. Cathedral. Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto
(Jacopo della Quercia)

Siena. Piazza del Campo. Fonte Gaia
(Jacopo della Quercia)

manner; on his first plane he carves flat figures and gradually diminishes them as they retreat; his designs are generally prescribed by architectural construction. He has left us many bas-reliefs, chiefly in bronze, on the Siena font, on the altar of the *Santo* at Padua and on the pulpits of San Lorenzo at Florence. In bas-relief, Donatello obtains almost impressionistic effects of daring Bacchic movement, as that of the dancing children in the imitation colonnade of the *cantoria* in Florence, and of the wild little cymbal player in the *Santo*. Movement and the construction of designs concentrated by perspective lead Donatello to create his dramas with a directness and a violent intensity and grandeur unknown to Florentine sculpture. In his scene of the *Pietà* on the *Santo* altar, it seems as though his chisel had searched right into the soul of the stone and tossed aside the chips with restless blows. No other sculptor could excel him in representing the ebb and flow of a crowd. One of the finest examples of this is the scene representing the healing of a wounded man by St. Anthony. In this composition, between the sides of the great *piazza* surrounded by houses, the crowd pours in towards the centre where the chief action is taking place, in one continual flickering of lights.

Donatello's discoveries inevitably draw his immediate Florentine successors into his path. They thoroughly understand that they must either follow Donatello or be nothing at all.

The greater number of them are simple delicate artists without the ardour and indomitable force of Donatello. They benefit in part by the great master's work, in the expression of their little world. Several of them have sufficient personality to avoid complete subjection to the great man.

Luca della Robbia (1400–1482), almost a contemporary of Donatello, was the ablest and most delicate maker of statuettes in Tuscany. He speaks in the gentle country dialect; he places his sweet serious figures between crowns and flowers and garlands of pomegranates and lilies, under arcades of fruit, smiling against the blue. A restful

Florence.
Or S. Michele.
St. George

Florence.
Campanile of Giotto.
Lo Zuccone
(Donatello)

naturalist, with a robust and healthy constitution, simple in his habits, good and mild, he is not interested in subtleties, but is content to model his strong beautiful Madonnas and children. In 1441 he introduces colours into sculpture for the first time by means of glazing. The process gives him his greatest fame. The Madonnas in the *Museo Nazionale* in Florence and of San Domenico in Urbino are the best examples of this form of his art.

The other contemporaries of Donatello, such as Michelozzo Michelozzi, Pagno di Lapo Portigiani, Maso di Bartolomeo, are merely pale shades of the master. Antonio Averulino, called Filarete, is an academic master strongly opposed to Donatello's reforms.

The new generation prefers the grace, rather than the energy, of the great sculptor; nevertheless they nearly always make him their point of departure. Simone, Isaja da Pisa, Andrea dell' Aquila, Urbano da Cortona, Niccolò Cocari, Giovanni da Pisa, Antonio di Chelino, Francesco del Valente, Pietro di Martino da Milano, Paolo da Ragusa, Domenico di Paris, Antonio Federighi, il Vecchietta, il Bellano spread Donatello's art through the whole of Italy.

Agostino di Duccio (1418–1481) and Desiderio da Settignano (1428–1464) deserve a special mention amongst Donatello's followers.

Agostino di Duccio's name is connected with the decoration of the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini, and the façade of San Bernardino at Perugia. He is a delicate worker in relief and an imaginative weaver of curved linear embroideries. He clothes his figures in veils, wraps them round with billowing folds, and bends them like reeds. Their eyes are half closed, their features are delicate and sensitive, their locks of hair are woven like ribbons and flicker like tongues of flame. His bodies move and turn with fluttering robes, his shell-like niches open wide; everything waves in the breeze and moves with a gay, easy rhythm.

Desiderio does not seem so far removed from Donatello; he adopts the same methods to enliven plastic matter. Everything crude disappears in Desiderio, but Donatello's wonderful mastery of high and low relief and a rare faculty

FLORENCE. MUSEO OF S. M. DEL FIORE. CANTORIA
(DONATELLO)

FLORENCE. MUSEO OF S. M. DEL FIORE. CANTORIA
(LUCA DELLA ROBBIA)

for carving graceful, aristocratic figures remain. As he shows in the Marsuppini monument in Santa Croce at Florence, he can create noble, soaring architecture. He can bring out children's beauty as no other Tuscan of the fifteenth century; he invests his beautifully modelled busts of women with an exquisite expression of intelligence and noble sensibility. His realistic rendering of the ideal type

BERLIN. BUST OF MARIETTA STROZZI
(DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO)

of Florentine female beauty achieves a masterpiece in the bust supposed to be of Marietta Strozzi, now at Berlin. In this work the vivacious movement of the slender neck, of the fine face and beribboned hair seems to be an anticipation in marble of the vivacity of Leonardo's attitudes.

The generation after Donatello finds its highest expression of spirituality and artistic ability in Desiderio da Settignano's treatment of marble. The precursors of this new tendency

towards the graceful are Luca della Robbia, and to a lesser degree Antonio Rossellino (1409–1464). Donatello, therefore, was the artist who, with a very different intention, prepared the way for the technical ability and plastic knowledge of the men who follow this new ideal.

Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525) inherits the mantle of Luca, and fashions altarpieces and bright statues on blue

Berlin. Bust of a Princess of Urbino
(Francesco di Giorgio Martini)

glazed backgrounds. In his sacred groups, he sets Mother and Child closer and more intimately together, and endows his rather lifeless *putti* with graceful outlines and great astonished eyes. In the portico of the *Innocenti*, his babies are modelled opening wide their little imploring arms; elsewhere, they carry garlands of fruits or are struggling with animals in the classical manner. Luca's simple grace becomes a definite manner with this artist, and more so in his followers. Antonio Rossellino (1427–1478), in his works

in Santa Croce and in S. Miniato at Florence, and of Monteoliveto at Naples, introduces the Donatellian skill of his brother Bernardo into his ingenuous art. Benedetto da Maiano (1442–1497), Matteo Civitali and, later, Silvestro dell' Aquila borrow, not indeed a very great, but a gay, accurate style principally from Antonio Rossellino, but also from Donatello and Desiderio. Mino da Fiesole (1430–

FLORENCE. CHURCH OF SANTA CROCE.
MONUMENT OF CARLO MARSUPPINI
(DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO)

1484) accentuates Desiderio's delicate surface decoration, but does not go further than the surface. Although he creates marble embroidery of unsurpassable delicacy, he often completely fails in the carving of his figures.

Mino da Fiesole carves his fine embroideries in delicate threads, and shades his facile sculpture as though he were wielding a brush. At Rome, although still under the sway of his childish timidities and ingenuous daring, he discovers

a new richness, perhaps inspired by the tombs of Bregno. This can be noticed in the restored monument to Cardinal Forteguerri in Santa Cecilia. Colour lends relief to the candelabra, to the frieze of the entablature, to the hems of the garments, to the rosettes, gemming the Virgin's oval shrine, to the arabesques of the pall. The truncated columns of old dark marble, and the thickness of the entablature,

FLORENCE. BASILICA DI S. MINIATO AL MONTE. TOMB OF THE CARDINAL OF PORTUGAL (ROSSELLINO)

show the effort that Mino makes to bring his art into harmony with the models seen in the Roman churches.

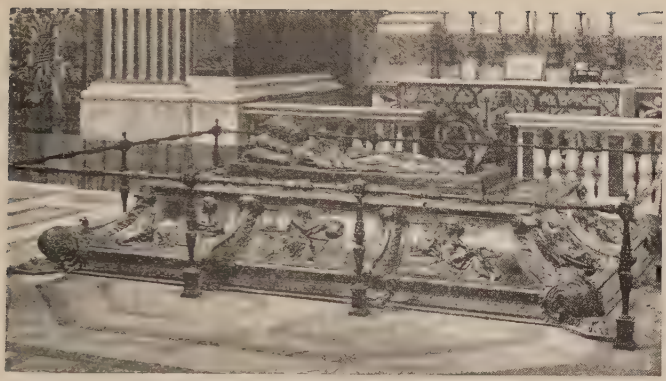
One cannot say that his art gains by this attempt; the Francesco Tornabuoni monument in Santa Maria sopra Minerva is a much finer piece of work. There, Mino returns to the marble pillars covered with arabesque, to the tomb set on the wall. The image of the dead man covered with a thin robe set obliquely, as in Roman sepulchres, and

flattened archaically on a coverlet looks almost as if it had been taken from a fourteenth-century tombstone. In looking at the elegance of this diaphanous figure with his features relaxed in an imperceptible smile, sleeping beneath the red lily of his native city, one forgets all that is petty and calligraphic in Mino's art.

Giovanni da Traù, the sturdy artist who cuts his marbles with a diamond point, works at Rome at the same time as this sculptor of delicate waxen figures. There is a great difference between the fine lines of Mino's figures and Giovanni's angels on the altar of S. Mark's sacristy, with their full faces, flowing hair, and masses of shining prismatic folds. Still greater contrasts with Mino's work in the *Grotte Vaticane* may be seen in the crude, powerful *Padre Eterno* in Paul II's sepulchre, the crowd of angels with their crumpled garments, *Hope* with thick curls and proud features and wings forcibly compressed within a hollow niche, a generous figure rebelling against architectural limitations. This artist brings the proud energy of Giorgio da Sebenico's native home to Rome, and he seems to hack out his massive figures from the rock with a pick. Amongst his works are the busts of Paul II in Palazzo Venezia, and of Pius II in the *Appartamento Borgia* in the Vatican. The latter has the square face of a mastiff; his skin hangs heavy on him, his eyes are staring; the whole is the work of a crude, powerful sculptor who knows how to produce the effect of energy with rough outlines.

In Emilia, sculpture is represented by Sperandio Mantovano, and Vincenzo Onofri, in Liguria and Sicily by Domenico Gagini, in Lombardy by Pietro da Milano, and above all Giovanni Antonio Omodeo (about 1447–1522), Pietro da Rho, Andrea Bregno, and Luigi Capponi, and at Rome by Paolo di Mariano and Gian Cristoforo Romano. It appeared in Lombardy in the work of Caradosso di Foppa (1452–1526) as a precursor of the *Cinquecento*.

Lombard artists are scattered all over Italy, and in Urbino we find Ambrogio Barocci ornamenting Francesco di Giorgio Martini's architecture, and in Rome Andrea Bregno as the chief of the sepulchral sculptors. In the monument to



Rome. Church of St. Peter. Monument of Sixtus IV
(Antonio Pollaiuolo)

Rome. Monument of Francesco Tornabuoni
(Mino da Fiesole)

Cardinal Lebretto in Santa Maria in Aracoeli he gives us an example of coloured Lombard architecture. The tomb rests on a high base; an ornate entablature and two twin pilasters on a niched foundation frame the central space. Facing this, as from open windows, stand the apostles, Peter and Paul, the patrons of the dead man. Delicate reliefs, ovals formed by fluttering ribbons, threadlike stems, light garlands wind in amongst the interstices of the flat surfaces

PADUA. GATTAMELATA (DONATELLO)

in the usual Lombard manner. The blue of the apostles' niches is contrasted with red porphyry; veins of gold pick out the ridges of the shell that crowns the monument, a sweet Lombard harmony of gold filigree on blue. The shell design may also be seen in Bregno's other masterpiece, the tomb of Cardinal Coca in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

Tuscan art has many faint echoes, but it boldly asserts itself in Dalmatia with Francesco Laurana da Zara. This

artist assumes a place in sculpture parallel to that gained by Piero della Francesca in painting. That is to say he is a magnificent carver of plastic architecture, averse from the pictorial tendency given to bas-relief by Donatello, a sculptor of complete statues detached from their background, a vigorous modeller who gives the fullest relief to his figures instead of flattening them as Donatello used to do. Fran-

Venice. Bartolomeo Colleoni (A. Verrocchio)

cesco Laurana abandons both Donatello's emotion and the spiritual power of Desiderio's female portraits, and gives his whole love to perfect regularity of plastic form. The proud unreality of Laurana's figures, heightened by the deathly fixity of their features and drooping eyes, owes its existence to the application of one fundamental principle: — regular masses within regular masses, balance of concavities and convexities, metrical precision. Detail is disciplined to conform with the design or is of minor importance, with the result

that the unity of the whole is perfect. The wonderful silken meshes, the smooth stuffs swathe his busts in geometrical bands. They bind the statues to their pedestals and do not disturb the superb nudity of form. A good example is the bust of Federico da Montefeltro's wife, Battista Sforza. It rises from an oval base within an imaginary bell, the breath is held between the half-closed lips, the vague glance is far away from the real world; the features are still and rigid so as to balance the relief of the breast with the relief of the thrown-back head. Every detail, the curl of the parted lips, and the lids falling over the extinguished eyes, the turned column of the neck, the Greek pendant of a curl on the cheek-bone, the band of material that transforms the hair into a classical shell, obeys the laws of metre that rule the architectural whole.

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At Siena, after the laboured appearance of Renaissance design with Antonio Federighi, a workaday follower of Jacopo della Quercia, after Lorenzo Vecchietta, a crude artist inspired by the art of Donatello, Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1502) makes his appearance, and the Renaissance may truly be said to have begun. Francesco di Giorgio is architect, painter and sculptor, and displays his brilliant gifts in every branch of art. As a sculptor he makes pictorial experiments enlivening the rough-hewn backgrounds of his bronze reliefs with innumerable lights. Over the head of the praying St. Jerome (a bas-relief in the Dreyfus collection in Paris) he carves a luminous wedge of water-fowl flying through the cold sky, appearing between the openings of snow-covered rocks. In a bas-relief in the Carmine at Venice his angels fluttering their robes through the clouds round the Cross look like the apparitions of a Dantesque vision. His bronze acquires a sparkling quality.

He models with immense vigour and almost savage touch the athletic, nude figures seated near the entrance to the hall in which Christ is being scourged (a bas-relief in the Perugia Gallery) and the flying throngs in the plaster-cast, *Discordia*, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Jacopo's fellow-citizen approaches Michelangelo in these angular

nudes, but at the same time he gives the faces of his shining prisms the undulating flow of the Sienese style. As a marble sculptor, Francesco di Giorgio creates a masterpiece in the bust in the Museum at Berlin, fascinating for its soft *chiaroscuro*, exquisite sensibility of modelling, and aristocratic grace. Until lately it has been attributed to Desiderio da Settignano.

Florence. Museo Nazionale.
Giovanna Tornabuoni (Verrocchio)

Neroccio di Bartolomeo Landi (1447–1500) is a friend of Francesco di Giorgio's youth; Giacomo Cozzarelli (1443–1515) is a faithful follower. The latter moulds his polychromatic terra-cottas with exquisite sensibility and lovingly gives his folds the fluid quality, and his oblong faces the pallor, that is so typical of Sienese art.

In Florence three artists look to Donatello, not to discover in him any peaceful ideal, but to find inspiration for new

vital energy. They are Bertoldo (died 1491) Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1432–1498) and Andrea Verrocchio (1435–1488).

All three masters determine their style by accentuating Donatello's energy and action. Verrocchio attains a variety of rhythms, sometimes slight and fleeting, as the gay little creature poising his butterfly body on a fountain in the Palazzo Vecchio, sometimes calm and grave, as in his Madonna of

Florence. Bust of Battista Sforza. Museo Nazionale (Francesco Laurana)

the *Museo Nazionale* at Florence. His draperies are softly folded, his sensitive hands exquisitely modelled. There is a wide gulf between Donatello's *Gattamelata* and Verrocchio's *Colleoni*. For the solemn calm and purely constructive attempt of Donatello, Verrocchio substitutes the dramatic representation of a captain setting out for fresh conquests.

Antonio Pollaiuolo and Bertoldo are really marvellous precursors of the idealistic energy of the next century.

Antonio Pollaiuolo strains the vigorous life of Donatello's sculptures to the point of paroxysm. He exaggerates movement of line and carves his bodies, heads, and stiff draperies in a kind of fever, putting the muscles and tendons of his spare figures in spasmodic relief.

That passion of the Florentine Renaissance, the problem of movement, intrigues both Donatello and Antonio. The

VENICE. PORTA DELLA CARTA
(GIOVANNI AND BARTOLOMEO BON)

surfaces of the monument to Sixtus IV change and undulate without ceasing; the complicated cutting of the planes in wedges and prismatic hollows results in a pictorial mobility of reflections and shadows; the bronze is full of light. The troubled brows of the Pope's head which lies on jewelled cushions are wrinkled; his protruding eyes seem about to burst through their lids in fury; the folds of his garments are in riotous derangement; his hands are clenched.

In the monument to Innocent VIII in St. Peter's,

Pollaiuolo returns to the vertical type of tomb and with a novelty of design — the Pope in act of bestowing blessing on the faithful from his lofty throne is surrounded by the Virtues; the sarcophagus that forms the base of the monument is suspended in space by means of vigorously moulded brackets. The heightened *chiaroscuro* effect, and the energy of line are also in this case the principal aims of the sculptor,

Ancona. Church of S. Maria Maggiore
(Giorgio da Sebénico)

rebelling against geometrical laws. The complexity of the folds, the emphasis of pose, the fluttering ribbons have the result of bringing this fifteenth-century work into harmony with the Baroque monuments in St. Peter's.

This daring Florentine painter, who is also the sculptor of the *Labours of Hercules*, carves, too, the *Twins* for the Capitoline wolf. Deep breathing, the effort of dilated chests, kicking legs, swollen cheeks, bull necks, tense lips, in Polla-

iuolo's stark line, give the two sucking children the aspect of athletes, or voracious cubs under the snarling Roman beast. This tribute to Rome is the last work carved by the great Florentine before his body is laid in San Pietro in Vincoli.

Bertoldo, more faithful to Donatello, also experiments with movement, dramatic effect and the tumult of crowds. Bertoldo is Michelangelo's master. Verrocchio is Leonardo's.

VENICE. CHURCH OF THE FRARI. MONUMENT TO THE DOGE F. FOSCARI (ANTONIO RIZZO)

Desiderio da Settignano's grace is not appreciated by the generation that is to create the *Cinquecento*, except by the minor artists, and in the provinces. What that generation demands is energy and action, and Verrocchio, and above all Bertoldo and Pollaiuolo are ready to provide it.

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Fifteenth-century sculpture did not flourish so readily outside Tuscany, although even beyond her borders master-

pieces were to be found. In Emilia Niccolò da Bari called dall' Arca introduced the theatrical violence of Burgundian art in his *Pietà* of Santa Maria della Vita at Bologna; and Guido Mazzoni of Modena carved innumerable sacred groups in his native city, at Venice and Naples with an insuperable realism, particularly in the details, but with an entire lack of imagination and dignity.

VENICE. CHURCH OF THE FRARI. MONUMENT OF THE DOGE N. TRON (ANTONIO RIZZO)

In Lombardy Matteo Raverti and Jacopino da Tradate; at Venice Bartolomeo Bon continued to work in the Gothic tradition. The Dalmatian Giorgio da Sebenico and the Veronese Antonio Rizzo provide wonderful examples of this tradition along the shores of the Adriatic. The *Flagellation of Christ* in the cathedral of Spalato proves Giorgio akin to Donatello.

Antonio Rizzo, despite his Gothic leanings, is connected with the current of metrical modelling, represented by the old Gagini, and the crystal-clear Francesco Laurana. The violence of plastic effect, the energetic cut of the features, harmonising with architectural construction, must be considered as the last echo of Gothic training in an artist of genius attracted by the new forms that came to Venice with the art of Antonello da Messina.

# VI

# ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

# I

## ARCHITECTURE

In the sixteenth century Rome becomes the artistic capital of Italy. Painters, sculptors and architects flock to the Eternal City and on their departure spread the new gospel throughout Italy. A national style develops in the

Rome. S. Pietro in Montorio
(Bramante)

name of Rome. Architects, as students of Roman classicism, give an impressive monumental aspect to their buildings; they acquire a rhythm of regular proportions. The leader of this school of artistic thought is Donato Bramante, and he it is with his followers who determines the physiognomy

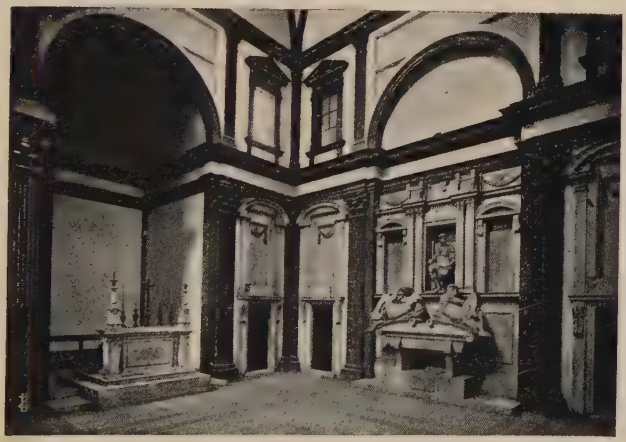
of Rome in the early *Cinquecento*. His work at Milan reveals essentially fifteenth-century characteristics amongst the variations of his early style, but in Rome he suddenly achieves a mature style of his own, truly classical in its broad outlines and shadow effects. Bramante on his popular and typical side is made by Rome. From the reserved calm of the cloister in Santa Maria della Pace, he passes on to alternations of

ROME. STAIRS OF THE VATICAN
(BRAMANTE)

light and shade in the mass, to the impetus of concentric planes growing out from each other, to the whirling wheels rising from ringed steps to the ring of the heavy cupola in the little church of San Pietro in Montorio.

The Bramantesque façade of Santa Maria at Abbiategrasso is enriched by a triumphal arch on a double order of columns in the manner of Alberti. The triumphal arch reappears in the courtyard of the Belvedere at Rome. But in the Lombard church the longitudinal development of the arch

ROME. DOME OF ST. PETER'S (MICHELANGELO)



FLORENCE. MEDICI CHAPEL (MICHELANGELO)

dominates the height; in Rome the arch rises up broadly and impressively to encircle a deep shadowed niche in the heart of the massive bulk of stone crowned with a classical colonnade. The new city of the Vatican with its huge palace and sweeping stairways, verily born from Roman earth, finds a royal throne in this immense niche. When the prince of architects carries out his project for the rebuilding of the old San Pietro on a Greek-cross plan, with towers, columns and little cupolas dominated by the mighty, overwhelming central cupola, his guiding star is the dream of Roman greatness: "I shall take the dome of the Pantheon and set it on the arches of Constantine's Basilica."

But the unity of the monumental and the harmonious is not the work of Donato Bramante but of Michelangelo and of Giuliano and Antonio Sangallo. Antonio with his Palazzo Farnese at Rome (continued by Michelangelo and Vignola) is the creator of the type of sixteenth-century palace. This is distinguished from the fifteenth-century Florentine palace by greater display, by a certain grandiosity, by projections and a consequent play of shadows.

A supreme example of Michelangelo's work in the field of architecture is to be found in the Sagrestia Nuova of San Lorenzo at Florence. In the church adjoining is the Sagrestia of Filippo Brunelleschi, with carefully planned lines as supple as reeds, rising with a Gothic grace and lightness from squared walls. Michelangelo's ample chamber also has walls cut up by squares and lunettes, severely striped in white and grey. But while Brunelleschi covers his walls with innumerable deep recesses and thin framing, Michelangelo succeeds in obtaining a play of defined masses alternatively protruding and receding. That is to say, that Michelangelo's architecture, as his painting, is always an expression of sculpture: the constant study of the artist is to bring out shadow-throwing projections from a flat background in clear and individual relief. The elasticity of Brunelleschi's mouldings is repeated in the ascent of the cornices, but it is restrained by other opposite forces tending downwards: the soar of the windows is counterbalanced by the crushing weight of the centering; that of the laurel bough by the

VENICE. PALAZZO REALE (SANSOVINO)

VICENZA. BASILICA OF THE PALAZZO DELLA RAGIONE (PALLADIO)

mournful droop of its leaves. This architecture is perhaps without peer in the sixteenth century: a rectilinear scheme of frames round great bare circles; weight of arches over the lofty windows, flattened by the confined space that bends them down to the wide *abaci* of the capitals; a severe but splendid sobriety of decoration, a mine of decorative motifs for the *Cinquecento*. Through the alternating rigid rise and fall comes a complex impression of gravity, of vertically dropping weight that possibly comes from the contrast of colours — intense grey on cold white — and of the sharply outlined shadows with the hard light.

The same spirit was to have informed the tomb of Pope Julius according to the design that has survived, now in the Berlin Museum. The architectural outline and the statues of the second storey produce a soaring effect, to which the great arch of the summit is contrasted in sudden crushing thrust. Even in its present sad state this monument, the vastest conception of Michelangelo's daring mind, re-echoes the potent sculptural life of its architecture, especially in the prodigious brackets like marble cables stretched between straining capstans.

The great Florentine's last work is the glorious dome of St. Peter's, the crowning point of the new Rome that, thanks to him, has recaptured the ancient solidity inspired with new fires of passionate feeling. This dome of the mother-church of Christendom, raised over the city of cities, has the triumphal lift of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, but, as seen at a distance, the effect comes from its composition, from the alternating soar and restraint, from the powerful contrasts between projecting and receding masses and illuminated and shaded surfaces. Its great bulk that attains repose by the majesty of its ascending curves is Michelangelo's dream of grandeur come true.

Michelangelo's architecture not only gives a new physiognomy to Rome, but spreads throughout all Italy in the same way as that of the Sangallo brothers.

Jacopo Tatti, better known as Sansovino (1486–1570), carries the style to Venice, and Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) develops it with a unique perfection of harmonious propor-

Caprarola. Palazzo Farnese (Vignola)

Verona. Palazzo Bevilacqua (Sanmicheli)

tions and a noble grace of ornament both at Venice, in the steps of the fine local work of Mauro Coducci, and at Vicenza that takes her noble classical stamp entirely from him.

Sebastiano Serlio, a Bolognese, Jacopo Barozzi, known as Vignola (1507–1573), Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559), Galeazzo Alessi (1512–1572), Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–1592) cover Italy with buildings in which perfect proportion is combined with a profound science of light and shade effects, obtained by protruding ledges and by a calculated distribution of hollows and projections.

It is to be expected that in this conscious and personal arrangement of ins and outs, this unrestrained combination of statues, niches, scrolls and brackets, the *chiaroscuro* effect captivates the artist and becomes more important than the clear, simple, regular construction of the whole. And in this way Baroque architecture has its beginnings.

## II

## SCULPTURE

Italian sculpture of the *cinquecento*, to a much greater extent than painting, is dominated and over-weighted by the genius of Michelangelo, essentially a sculptor's genius both when he paints and when he builds.

The two great problems of the Florentine art traditions are successfully faced and brought into harmony by Michelangelo: mass and movement. They are parted by Donatello, who prefers flat surface to rounded relief, and by the use of the former attains impressionistic effects of motion. The tendency to individualise plastic masses (the preoccupation of Masaccio's painting), and that other tendency to suggest movement of form by energy of line, both appear in Michelangelo's work. He seems to unchain potent life from his works of sculpture, from the groups in his pictures, from his architecture, by a new principle that no longer is

separate from vigorous line but fuses with it: that is to say, antithesis of masses, opposition of forces.

The first work in which Michelangelo succeeds in producing the effect of impetuous movement is in that early relief which breaks away from Donatello's tradition: the *Lapiths and Centaurs*. It consists of a closely-knit group of statues chiselled from a single marble block. The figures are rushing

PARIS. LOUVRE. A SLAVE
(MICHELANGELO)

along in a chain that is accentuated by the violent contrast of certain tense, isolated movements of resistance to the general sweeping impetus. The headlong rush is held up by these few protesting links of steel. With sudden irresistible effort, a youth drags along a shrieking, swirling group of clasped figures; an athlete, straining back with rigid limbs, attempts to hold up the mob falling like a landslide of stones. A few figures stand out from the wild horde: an impressive group of two, struggling savagely over a fallen fighter;

savage heads superimposed; clenched fists falling in unison over a head with implacable slowness; in the opposite corner, a figure broken with weeping, his fingers clutched in his hair. Already the effect of movement is produced in this relief by the clash of opposed forces: the whirlwind, and resistance to the whirlwind. From the centre of the howling, gesticulating mob, whirling round in wild dance, the heroic

PARIS. LOUVRE. A SLAVE
(MICHELANGELO)

figure of the group flings off the entangling fighters and rises up as from a crater. This is the stripling conqueror who has forced his way to the open, and rushes upwards, free, like a quivering flame from a volcano.

No other of Michelangelo's figures portrays victorious ascent with such free effect. For the first time in this magnificent relief the sculptor expresses himself by means of the nude human figure, his most eloquent and surest vehicle, his all-powerful instrument. The young Buonarroti in this

*altorilievo* marks the bounds of his art at one blow, far surpassing other more ambitious and more studied works.

In the *Pietà* in St. Peter's a thunderbolt seems to have cut short all movement in the deathly still figures. The finely carved limbs of Christ fall inert to the ground; the Mother bends away so that she can better fix her gaze on her Son's wounds, and contemplate the work of death, whose anguish is reflected in her bent face. Extraordinarily delicate is the carving of Christ's slender limbs, of Mary's tiny youthful face. The shadow of death descends on the eyelids and the severe features, it blends with the tenuous shadows of the mantle. The stuff of the garments folds in wrinkles over the Virgin's ample breast and over her knees, as though they are moulded in the rock that surrounds and forms a pedestal for the group. A contrast to these static draperies, whose still folds reveal a Roman breadth of outline, is to be found in the rounded limbs of Christ, in the smooth face of the Mother, in the hand that moves lifelessly with a gesture of stupor and desolation. The impressive detachment of the flesh and bone of the shoulder of the corpse supported by the Virgin, the tension of the tendons, marks the first attempt to produce the spasmodic life of muscles and joints typical of the giant statues of Michelangelo Buonarroti's maturity; and this in a Christ with the slender grace and smooth shining surface of the fifteenth century. The sculptor, who had already modelled the severe impenetrable face of the *Madonna della Scala* at Florence, lovingly restrains his hand to refine and lend subtlety to the shape of his youthful head whose melancholy lines are contrived without effort.

In the *David* there is the same stillness of pose, but the lines of the face are more decided and more virile. The figure leans to one side of the rugged pedestal the better to take aim; the left hand moves to the sling. This is no agile youth, the boy-victor of the giant, with feet set on the dismembered head of the vanquished, such as Donatello and Verrocchio conceived him, but a young athletic hero scanning the enemy from afar and measuring the intervening distance with threatening mien. The whole body follows the oblique movement of the left leg poised on the edge of

the narrow pedestal. The trunk inclining to the left, the hand violently bent back at the wrist, the neck-tendons standing out like stretched chords, the huge yet supple torso are all taking aim, preparing for the fling that in the very next instant will let loose the whistling stone. In this marble colossus, the nude human figure receives the loving imprint of Michelangelo's genius. Already it is a

Rome. St. Peter's. Tomb of Paul III Farnese (G. della Porta)

quivering instrument in his hands: the chest expands and the ribs protrude in sign of the struggle in the body, calm and unruffled as yet; there are swollen veins on the hands that seem about to burst with the vehement flow of blood. The nostrils sniff the air and the wild eyes measure distance for the throw; the pupils are dilated by shadows. The forehead, lined with curling locks, bears the impress of stress and struggle, the savage face under the unkempt hair contrives to produce an effect of wrathful menace.

The frescoes of the Sistine ceiling have their parallel in

the statues of the Medici chapel and in the tomb of Pope Julius, where painful energy of form is accentuated by contrasts. Side by side with the fretting bondage of *Night*, a note of revolt is struck by the terrible awakening of *Day*, a giant who frees his cramped limbs with one immense effort. Facing Giuliano de' Medici, the statue of Lorenzo Duca d'Urbino, silent and meditating, expresses and sums up, in

Bologna. The Fountain of Neptune. Design of T. Lauretti. Statue by Giambologna

the hopeless bitterness of his gaze, all the sorrows and vain struggles of the statues on his tomb. The gloomy profile of *Twilight* expresses desperation and there is a challenge in the savage eyes. *Dawn*, instead of flinging wide the eastern gates, opens the doors of the day to hopeless struggles with a spasm of agony.

The sculpture that Michelangelo dreamed would equal the Sistine ceiling by its immense size and conception, that is to say, the tomb of Pope Julius, could never attain the

imaginative impressiveness of his original plan. The *Slaves*, the first pieces of sculpture designed for the purpose, should have had their place in the cyclopean framework of the monument. They are now dispersed, some in the *Accademia di Belle Arti* at Florence, some in the Louvre. One of the Louvre statues rises from its rough-hewn pedestal with a fine upward lift, but an invincible weight bends the lovely head over one shoulder, life abandons the expanded chest with a great sighing breath; the terrible agony of Laocoon is here transformed into the abandon of a mortal torpor. The subdued line of the flanks is unexpectedly broken by the sharp angles of the arms framing the head, weighed down by sleep or death.

In the other *Slave* in the Louvre, Michelangelo attempts a still more daring expression of movement. The prisoner strains from the pedestal with desperate energy, twisting his contorted face towards the sky. The wedge of leg and shoulder; the sharp angle of the neck; the feverish life of the muscles, swollen by the spasmodic bend of the bust, by the tension of effort preparing for a sudden wrench at the fetters, produce an irresistible effect of plastic dynamic force. Deadly drowsiness overcomes the anguish of tortured limbs in his companion, but in the body of the manacled gladiator vibrates the roar of a lion deprived of his liberty.

The *Slaves* of the Louvre and of Florence are recalled by the statue of St. Matthew. The latter is still held captive in his block of stone from which he tries to free himself with painful effort of limbs. The outline is developed with slow spiral effect, produced by the contrasting movements of face and legs almost in profile, and the right shoulder twisted in the opposite direction.

In the *Pietà* groups that end the cycle of Michelangelo's sculptural works, the action follows an impressive *crescendo* of violence. The slow funereal droop to earth of the ascetic Christ in the *Pietà Rondanini;* the painful turn of the huge limbs in the Palestrina statue that changes to the inevitable fall of an uprooted trunk in the hopeless abandon of the group of Santa Maria del Fiore. The retreating figure of the Magdalen, the chief support of the composition, is

counterbalanced by the falling avalanche of the Christ that drags the whole principal group downwards; the drama of the powerful scene arises from this contrast between sculptural masses.

The cycle of Michelangelo's tragic sculpture closes with the anguish of Golgotha. On the narrow circular plinth hollowed out by the pointed feet of the Christ in the *Pietà*

FLORENCE. MUSEO NAZIONALE. THE MODEL IN WAX OF PERSEUS (BENVENUTO CELLINI)

*Rondanini*, there rise two spectral statues, clasped together as though wrapped by the same grave-cloth, swaying to one another, like a banner furled in mourning. The Virgin, the staff of support, bends under the anguish of sorrow and death, and the two statues join as in a single trunk with branches drooping to earth and the grave. The heads, the more suggestive for the incompleteness of the work that accentuates principal lines and ignores details, are shadowed

by hair that falls in funereal locks around Mary's neck, and they lean one against the other in a fearful unanimity of despair. The Mother's eyes from beneath the lowered lids see the shadow of the abyss towards which the adored body is slipping, falling from her close embrace.

In the *Pietà* of Palestrina, the Christ is a naked giant and looks as though he might have been taken from the painting

FLORENCE. LOGGIA DEI LANZI. PERSEUS
(BENVENUTO CELLINI)

of the *Last Judgment* on the Sistine wall. He weighs on the Virgin's shoulder and the whole body bows in the act of crashing to the ground.

In the three statues of the *Pietà* of S. Maria del Fiore, the old Michelangelo attains the highest point of free sculptural movement. The figures fuse their angular broken masses in one wedge of pointed rugged stone.

In the tomb of Paul III in St. Peter's at Rome, Guglielmo

della Porta, with aims similar to those of Michelangelo, creates a masterpiece. By means of the figures themselves he constructs a pyramidal monument of great nobility. He takes Michelangelo's motifs, tones them down, and, in order to produce a rich polychromatic effect, arranges various marbles and bronzes against the coloured background of the great niche. The pyramid ascends in great steps

VENICE. ST. MARK'S. BRONZE DOOR OF THE SACRISTY (JACOPO SANSOVINO)

between Justice and Prudence, symbolic patronesses of the dead man, and at its peak is set the bronze figure of Paul III Farnese.

Michelangelo's art is reduced to a dignified and reserved grace by the Venetians, Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) and Alessandro Vittoria (1525–1608), by Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), the great goldsmith, Giambologna (1524–1608), Pompeo Leoni (1509–1590), Antonio Begarelli (1498(?)–1565),

and Alfonso Lombardi (1487–1537). Jacopo Sansovino brings a sense for heroic Roman classicism to Venice. He deferentially recalls Ghiberti's second door of "*bel San Giovanni*," in the bronze door of St. Mark's sacristy. He places projecting heads in the square frames, impetuous Evangelists in the niches where they do not seem at ease, prophets, in the oval shells, rising violently, disturbed by visions of the future. The same tendency for sudden impetuous movement, the same flickering figures can be noticed in the bas-relief, *Resurrection*, in which bodies are carved vertically upright against a scene of clouds and angels. The pictorial background of graded plains and distances of Donatello's bas-reliefs is no more, here minute figures and objects punctuate a single remote curtain wall. Thus in the other bas-relief of St. Mark's portal, the *Deposition*, movement is expressed by falling figures, by drawn draperies, by heads apparently tumbling to the ground. The background, however, consists in stories of the Passion on an unequally hammered surface; mountains, rocks, valleys in very much reduced scale extend in one plane of scenery.

Jacopo Sansovino's art conforms to the needs of the triumphant Venetian painting and inspires the Trentine Alessandro Vittoria. The latter succeeds in immortalising typical Venetian types in his busts of strong resolute men, sea-wolves of the old Republic, fearless captains, victorious Doges. His chisel produces effects like those of Tintoretto; sometimes, like the painter Andrea Schiavone, he dallies with the elegance and subtlety of Parmigianino's slim noble forms.

Benvenuto Cellini's masterpiece is his autobiography. As a sculptor he strives after size, but his goldsmith's fondness for the minute deters him. He will display his knowledge of anatomy to the detriment of spontaneity, his bronze Perseus, therefore, is somewhat mechanical in its laboured and studied composition, whilst the little wax model is full of life and action, full of the pure beauty of an agile young body. The model, produced at heat, without too many calculations and measurements, succeeds in the same way as the autobiography succeeds, written as it is without rules

of grammar: pedantry robs art of its natural worth and original value.

Giambologna or Jean Boulogne de Douai (1524–1608) does his work in Italy. He carves his statues, some of them colossal, in an experienced practical fashion, making use of designs in Michelangelo's manner, soundly and phlegmatically. The Neptune Fountain at Bologna, that enormous

Venice. Seminario Arcivescovile. Bust of Apollonio Massei. Terra-cotta by A. Vittoria

trophy, is designed by the Palermitan Lauretti in collaboration with the sculptor. Its scrolls, inscription slabs, shells, crossed jets, genii, dolphins, and sirens, stamp it as one of the first examples of Baroque art.

Leone Leoni d'Arezzo and his son Pompeo introduce their refined art to the court of Spain. In their portraits they capture the decadent tortured faces of princes and depict them with profound and penetrating observation. They

surprise the essence of those evil cankered features and succeed in reproducing an aristocratic hauteur of expression.

Antonio Begarelli, a Modenese modeller, carries the Emilian terra-cotta art to sixteenth-century heights. His facile sweeping lines, particularly in the Madonna in the Civic Museum of Modena, remind one of Dosso Dossi, in other statues, of Correggio. But terra-cotta, in lending itself to modelling, tries to conceal its humble nature and to take the place of marble, and in taking these liberties it becomes Baroque. And this Baroque tendency is obvious in the flowing draperies and the loose limbs that seem to move and detach themselves from the main mass of the trunk in Begarelli's figures.

Alfonso Lombardi, originally from Lucca, sets up at Ferrara and creates decorative works of a Greek elegance for the court of the Este. At Bologna he holds the field in sculpture, following and surpassing Tribolo and composing delicate pictorial reliefs for the tomb of San Domenico. Sometimes he approaches Begarelli, as may be remarked in the terra-cottas in the museum of Faenza.

## III

## PAINTING

The problems of form and movement that had interested the Florentines of the fifteenth century are given new solutions by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the herald of the *Cinquecento* in painting. A new interpretation of *chiaroscuro* provides fresh opportunities in this common ground of Florentine traditions, "light and shade" are the first amongst the "eight parts of painting," so says Leonardo in his essay. This pre-eminence can help us to understand the position of da Vinci's art in relationship to the fifteenth century. "Light and shade" — *chiaroscuro* — but these

words have not the same meaning that we give them when thinking of Masaccio and Michelangelo, that is to say, the prevalence of light over dark surfaces producing the accentuating effect of relief, of sculpture; on the contrary, they denote a cloudiness, a prevalence of shadow, that obstructs the vision of figures and wraps them in a veiled

PARIS. LOUVRE. THE VIRGIN OF THE ROCKS (LEONARDO DA VINCI)

atmosphere that bathes everything, the rocks and waters of the background as well as the features of the faces. No more clear definite outlines, no more forms with clean-cut edges modelled from planes, undulating with light and shade, fluid as the shadowed atmosphere that surrounds the statues. Leonardo discovers the grace that evening, twilight shadows, and gloomy weather lend to the human face.

The disappearance of objects in the shades of twilight,

in the mists that rise from watercourses, the last quivering of the light, the flicker of an indefinite smile across a human face, the tremble of a veil or of an unruly lock, suggest to the artist the secret of pictorial effects unknown in the art of his contemporaries.

Leonardo's solution of one of the problems that most

PARIS. LOUVRE. LA GIOCONDA
(LEONARDO DA VINCI)

deeply interested Florentine art of the Renaissance, that is to say, the problem of movement, is to be found in the pictorial function of shading. Leonardo can interpret by means of shading the slightest vibrations of mass and of light, as well as the furious lashing of the waves and the rush of a charging horse; the rapidity of the arrow and the tremble of a veil moved by a puff of wind; the rage of the tempest and the breathing of a smiling woman; the ephemeral flicker of a flame in the dark and the ruffling of

garments caught by the breeze. The same life that animates his human figures animates landscape, trees, stones, the whole of nature that is embraced by the seeing eye of the painter. The rocks that have the same quality as wave and cloud are involved in the struggle as well as the warriors of the *Battle of Anghiari*. The eyes of Leonardo, the eyes of a scientist searching into nature, and at the same time the eyes of a visionary, imbue inorganic matter with a live force, with quivering phantasms in the infinite vibrations of light and shade. Line, that suggested movement and relief to the Florentines before him, the incisive line uniform throughout its length as in the pictures of Antonio Pollaiuolo and of Sandro Botticelli, disappears in da Vinci's art because of this pictorial shading. Its continuity lost, it becomes wrinkled, it snaps as though corroded by the atmosphere, it clots into black smudges of shade, it breaks up into spiders' webs.

From the *Adoration of the Magi*, the fantastic scene of will-o'-the-wisp lights flickering in the night, from the ever-increasing complications of the fluid half-lights of the *Virgin of the Rocks*, of the *Gioconda* and of the *Sant' Anna*, the painter attains to the enigmatic Baptist, where form without bones and muscles is merely a soft mass absorbed by the shaded atmosphere.

The synthetic pyramidal construction, the monumental breadth and the fusion of forms in the family group of St. Anne at London, the spiral undulations of many of Leonardo's figures, certain loose dance rhythms re-echo in the painting of the sixteenth century. Correggio's art, although very different in spirit, finds its instrument of pictorial expression in the experiments and discoveries of Leonardo. Like Raphael, that creator of sovereign rhythms, he has recourse many times to this source at the beginning of his career.

Two Florentines take their part in imposing on Florence this new style of Leonardo's: Fra Bartolomeo della Porta (1475–1517), and Andrea d'Agnolo, better known as Andrea del Sarto (1486–1531). Their art is very well represented in the Galleries of Florence. Fra Bartolomeo, faithful to Leonardo's principles, avails himself of shading in the

Florence. Pitti Gallery. The Deposition from the Cross (Fra Bartolomeo)

Florence. SS. Annunziata. Cloister of Madonna del Sacco. Fresco (Andrea del Sarto)

creation of his diffused mists, coloured vapours, the very atmosphere in which his great emphatic figures have their being. For the friar, intellectualism is no longer a torment but a vehicle of expression. He develops Leonardo's pyramidal compositions in breadth; his massive groups, often leaning against thick, bushy trees that screen the light, spread over the whole field of the picture.

But the dominion of sixteenth-century art belongs to Michelangelo (1475–1574) rather than to Leonardo. Master of the movement of the human figure as no one before him, he despises all else in nature but the naked human form, and his whole art is dedicated to the exaltation of the nude. Struggle, sorrow, the impotent and superhuman wrath of giants crushed by destiny are the constant motifs of Michelangelo's art. A sculptor always, even when he paints, he seems to chisel his cyclopean forms from stone; he makes use of shining lights, like sun rays darting through wind-swept clouds, to increase the movement of his groups, both in the *tondo* of his *Holy Family*, and in the great pictorial cycle of the Sistine chapel. On the Sistine ceiling Michelangelo sets forth the prologue of the history of man, and as witnesses he paints prophets, sibyls, and seers of God. With marble framework and statuesque groups he creates a severe and magnificent architectural whole. The alternate projections and recesses of the sham mural masses accompany and heighten the effect of the figures struggling in space. The sculptural groups project from the smooth background more and more towards the altar with a *crescendo* of form that advances side by side with a *crescendo* of impetuous movement. Effort, struggle, anguish, the vital elements of Michelangelo's art, are expressed in innumerable ways, now in sudden outbursts of fury, now in unexpected effacements. God does not here present Himself to the first man with that divine benignity that would have been suggested by Raphael, but with lightnings, thunder and tempest. Life announces the fearfulness of his destiny to the yet inert and unconscious being. The human race is tortured with suffering. Even in the pictures of the ancestors in the triangles and lunettes of the ceiling, the

ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL. CREATION OF ADAM (MICHELANGELO)

ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL. REHOBOAM (MICHELANGELO)

mothers seem to clasp their babes in anguish; the children of Israel seem to be oppressed by fate, as though stunned by a subterranean thunder announcing the overthrow of the universe. On the Sistine ceiling Michelangelo tells the story of a great, fallen, oppressed humanity dogged by sin and death, in arms against destiny. A sculptor always, he makes use of colour to achieve the sculptural liberty denied

ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL. JEREMIAH
(MICHELANGELO)

him by marble. He does not set his figures in niches, he does not hollow his lunettes and triangles, he avoids concavity in his thrones; he wants the vertical plane and the smooth wall so that his statues can stand out the better from their background.

An immense architecture of counterbalanced rocks forms the gloomy background of the *Last Judgment*, the painting that closes the Sistine series with a giant's nightmare. The

story of Humanity told on the ceiling, a story of rebellion and punishment, is here precipitated in sudden catastrophe.

The vastness of Michelangelo's achievement seemed prodigious to Italy and Europe. In point of fact superficial characteristics were most admired, and the swelling of muscles received more admiration than the intimate composition of body or scene. For this reason there was no

ROME. SISTINE CHAPEL (MICHELANGELO)

real continuation of Michelangelo's art. Nevertheless, European architecture, sculpture and painting imitated him and profited for some time by his daring originalities.

To understand Michelangelo's Humanity one must remember the history of Italy at the time he lived. The peoples were intolerant of their rulers, morality revolted against the corruption of priests and the papal court, intellect rebelled against the dogma of the age-old religion. At the same time, culture had reached a unique position in

Europe, and the one aim in life of the privileged classes was to dress well, speak well and gesticulate well, to pore over beautiful shapes and colours, and to listen to beautiful sounds. Meanwhile the different states of Italy, at variance amongst themselves, provoked invasion and ravage by foreigners. Political and ecclesiastical disintegration, the overthrow of a moral and philosophical conscience by a

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY. THE VISION OF A KNIGHT (RAPHAEL)

remarkable artistic capacity, form the social sub-structure of the age of Michelangelo. For him, art was the language of a moral concentration, a desperate protest at the political and moral undoing of Italy.

Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520) was, next to Michelangelo, the most representative man of his age. He did not suffer the tortures or share the passionate humanity of the Florentine, passing his short life as he did, feasted and adored between the two courts of Urbino and Rome. The ideal of the *Cortigiano* of Baldassare Castiglione, the Urbino ideal

of human perfection, is personified in Raphael's calm art. The noble cultivated society at the Montefeltro Court, intent on the perfection of form and deed, of propriety, of magnificence, of games and feasts, of the spontaneous grace of speech, of liberality and charm, did not wish to realise the clouds rolling up against the cities of Italy. They avoided discussing the political and social drama of Italian

LENINGRAD. HERMITAGE. ST. GEORGE (RAPHAEL)

life as something dull and tiresome, and returned to their sweet discourse. The sincere expression of that peace, of that abandonment to the joy of living, and therefore of that oblivion to reality, may be found in Raphael's art. From the palace of the Montefeltri at Urbino, his birthplace, he captures the lustre of nobility and civil perfection, the grace of the *Cortigiano* and the love of beauty. The calm, the serenity, the self-satisfied contemplation of the

historical and physical world are the subjects his spirit, and he, bred in the atmosphere of Urbino and the "perfect courtier," knew best how to immortalise. Harmonious rhythm is beauty for Raphael, as it is for Leon Battista Alberti. It is the law of his art from his first works, and the same rhythms that, with infinite grace, connect the figures of his groups, are to be felt in his boundless landscapes illumined with calm, mild light. With Raphael, unlike Timoteo and the pupils of Francia, there are no languid movements of figures against closed backgrounds, but broad, reposeful undulations echoing through vast spaces governed by metrical laws. In the rosy group of the *Three Graces* at Chantilly, the gem of Raphael's early youth, the harmony of curved lines creates a charming cadence: two three-quarter heads lean over a shoulder, forming a hollow shell in which appears the profile of the third; the arms, no longer extended as in the old models, bend as they support the golden globe, punctuating the rhythm of the line with their soft twinings. Landscape and figures are complementary, the flat rolling country repeats the melody of the group with broader modulation and more subdued tone. In this youthful masterpiece Raphael proves that he has learnt in the school of Pietro Perugino to extend his space and to echo in it the outline of his group. Here the gentle fall of the three figures, divinely linked in loose rhythmic embrace, is repeated in a dying cadence from plane to plane. The lines billow with ever-declining curves. An abandonment of outlines that gradually comes to rest, a nuance of shade that trails to nothing in the distance give an ideal depth to his space. Both figures and landscape are embraced in this idyllic atmosphere. Rhythm is always the soul of Raphael's art, whether it builds, on Leonardo's example, pyramidal groups that enclose figures in a strict architectural composition, without, however, constricting freedom of outline; whether it is constructing the great scene of the *Disputa del Sacramento* on a system of counterbalancing straight and curved lines; or sets the last figures in the lunette of the *Stanza della Segnatura* to a slow rhythmic dance. When Raphael learns greater warmth by contact

ROME. VATICAN. JURISPRUDENCE (RAPHAEL)

ROME. VATICAN. THE DISPUTA (RAPHAEL)

with Sebastiano del Piombo's art, when he learns to *feel* colour with a marvellous vivacity, that is to say, when he is painting the *Stanza di Eliodoro*, colour attains a constructive value in his hands. Masses of shade and brilliant masses of light oppose, co-ordinate, and balance themselves to create new and richer spacial rhythms.

The absence of passion and dramatic impetus allowed Raphael to give all his attention to grace of figures and nobility of pose. The ideal of human beauty he had formed on the theories of the *Cortigiano* was summed up by harmony of proportions and regularity of feature. This is apparent in all his works, from the dreamy beauty of the *Madonna del Granduca*, rosy, blonde, coloured with light, transparent tints, to the splendour of the golden skin and black Roman eyes of the *Virgin* at Dresden, no longer encircled with archaic halo against a dark background or in a calm Umbrian landscape, but in the blue sky, revealed through suddenly opened curtains to the adoring eyes of man. The ideal of florid, passionless, human beauty, benign, sweet, serenely rhythmical, that made Raphael the most classical artist of modern times is the favourite ideal of Italian painters from those days to our own time.

Whilst all central Italy at the beginning of the *Cinquecento* founded its art on Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael, the Emilian district attained the highest expression of its fifteenth-century experiments in Antonio Allegri, called Correggio (1489(?)–1534). He was educated in the school of Bianchi Ferrari and Mantegna, and was then attracted to one after the other of the three great *Cinquecentisti*, especially to Leonardo, from whom he learns to unfold the priceless Emilian colour and create undulating movements within his shadowy atmospheres. The sinuous lines of the *Madonna di Modena* are Leonardo's rhythms carried to voluptuous lengths. Already in the *Congedo* in the Benson Collection all shapes are wrapped in atmospheric vapour, and the cadence of the bowed lines is in complete harmony with the slow oncoming of the dusk over the figures, the fields and the twilight sky. The easy rhythm of movement seems to have its source in the caressing

ROME. VATICAN. THE MIRACLE OF BOLSENA (RAPHAEL)

ROME. VATICAN. LIBERATION OF ST. PETER (RAPHAEL)

*chiaroscuro;* soft embroideries twine amongst the shadows of the background. And at the same time the chromatic material undergoes a change; colour lends a tender diaphanous effect of flesh, and a new tonality to tenuous half-tints and fresh rose-violets; it vanishes at outlines that are lost one in another in insensible gradations of light.

FLORENCE. PITTI GALLERY. THE MADONNA DEL GRANDUCA (RAPHAEL)

Correggio's art, that had at first only taken the superficial enlargement of the human figure from Raphael, gradually comes more under that influence and is checked in its spontaneous development. It is a period of deviation, soon prolonged by a study of Michelangelo and by researches into the effects of plastic movement. There then begins a struggle between form and the airy medium in which he works; flesh burns bright with red, the female type becomes regularised, the study of counterbalanced

mass and movement succeeds the intertwining rhythms. At last in the cupola of the *Duomo* at Parma, Correggio finds his own path, the human form lives once more high in the air, the impetus of the whirlwind changes to the caress of the wave, figures appear as clouds amongst the bright clouds of dawn. The heads of the Apostles, raised

DRESDEN. THE SISTINE MADONNA (RAPHAEL)

up in ecstasy, point to the kingdom of clouds, winds and light.

During the last years of his life the colours in his mythological pictures are subdued, forms are diminished, movement quietens, all noise is lulled in the velvet of atmosphere. Io comes out of the fleecy cloud in the same way as the pale body of Danaë from her silken curtains; reflections are tenuous in the extreme, and colour, in a delicate harmony of greys, speaks in hushed tones. The

PARMA. CONVENT OF S. PAOLO (CORREGGIO)

PARIS. MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. LOUVRE (CORREGGIO)

painter's whole art is a voluptuous dream. The dissolving cadence of his compositions well expresses the chief sentiment of Correggio's art — love. This is the theme on which the artist weaves visions of light and colour, the one song of this monochord poet. The velvet atmosphere makes soft skins velvet; the sweetest colours, pressed from the rose-dawns of the Parma cupola period silvered over with the moonlight of his later years, are used to deck his young love-lorn creatures. The laughing lights, the tender tints, the pulsing bodies speak with one accord the name of Love. His altars give examples for the *Seicento*, the cupolas carry the laws of aerial perspective a stage further, the bodies hurled into space with a swirling movement lay the foundation of the Baroque style. But the secret of the fascination Correggio exercised on the art of the *Seicento* and *Settecento*, wherever the glorious chromatic tradition of Venice failed to penetrate, must be sought in the extraordinary sensibility of his nature. Lost in a dream of hedonistic beauty, refined, timid, delicate, he embraced the whole world in his vision, from the blonde tresses of the almost albino Magdalen to the fresh milky leaves of his landscapes. He detached Italian art from the fundamental elements of eternal art by his desire for a human physical refinement, his colour shone in the shadow, and the vision of the real world was lost in sensibility.

This was the moment when the free thought of the Renaissance was changing to the religious energy of the counter-reformation that profoundly stirred Italian life. Many believed, more than openly confessed it, that Correggio had vindicated Italian art, merely because he had humanised it.

Giorgione (1477(?)–1510) was the exponent at Venice of that free imaginative ideal that distinguishes the *Cinquecento* from the *Quattrocento*. At Florence Latin mythological literature had presented painters with a way of escape from the religious tradition, and provided them with freer subjects; Giorgione took yet another step forward; he liberated himself from mythology. His favourite themes are pictorial visions without any concrete subject. His view is not

limited by the human figure, he embraces the whole landscape; more, landscape for the first time in the history of art becomes the principal subject of the picture. Figures belong to the landscape, not the landscape to the figures. All lineal character gives way before the reality of the masses, colour runs over softened outlines, light accentuates the blonde tone of the old Bellini. The artist no longer

VIENNA. HOFMUSEUM:
GANYMEDE (CORREGGIO)

resolves moral problems with torment, scorn, sorrow and anger, as Michelangelo; he abandons himself romantically to dreams, plaints, music and enjoyment.

Titian Vecellio (1477–1576) is contemporary with Giorgione, but as he lived for ninety-nine years instead of thirty-three he is representative of the art of the two generations following Giorgione. Titian was not precocious; up to his fortieth year he faithfully followed his

revolutionary companion Giorgione, and with consummate ability imitated his spirit and technique. After Giorgione's death he reduced the intensity and variety of the chromatic scale, and restricted his gamut to bright hues, especially yellow and red, to the exclusion of colder colours. He also gave up Giorgione's imaginative abandon and set himself to express the problem of life in movement and drama.

PARMA. CATHEDRAL. DETAIL FROM THE CUPOLA (CORREGGIO)

Already in the picture of the Madonna and Saints in the Dresden Gallery, the centre of the scene is not one dominating figure, but the relationship between two figures, in the loving look of the Christ-child for St. Catherine. Behind the two swelling groups converging towards the centre, between a red curtain and a colonnade, warm sunny clouds sail up, reflecting the silk of Mary's garment and Catherine's soft flesh. The young women saints are already of that florid type, with fair golden skin and blonde hair and delicate

VIENNA. HOFMUSEUM. THE THREE PHILOSOPHERS (GIORGIONE)

DRESDEN GALLERY. THE MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS (TITIAN)

shaded features, a type of female beauty that will be for ever linked with the name of Titian. It is the Venetian counterpart, all colour, to the type of the Greek Aphrodite, all plastic form. The celebrated personification of this calm voluptuous type is the golden-tawny *Flora* of the Uffizi at Florence.

MADRID. PRADO. CHARLES V (TITIAN)

Chromatic warmth and richness are accentuated in the triumphal altarpiece of the Assumption, where the agitated forms of the Apostles in vivid splashes of light are followed by the brilliant garland of clouds and angels under the feet of Mary. In the space between the *Assunta* and the *Redentore* the atmosphere has a warm metallic tone; a symphony, as it were, is sounded on brass instruments. Very near in point of time, the mythological pictures in the

Prado and at London, the *Fecundity*, the *Bacchanal*, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, scintillate with gay tones against luxurious backgrounds; the lights shine and glitter; every shape is alive with festal movement; colours reach unsurpassed splendour. The sunset in the picture in San Domenico at Ancona shines with stormy lights amongst swollen summer

MADRID. PRADO: FECUNDITY (TITIAN)

clouds; *Sisyphus* (Madrid) passes bent between fuming flames of hell; the little St. Jerome, penitent in the night-mist of the wood (Louvre), is lit up by a sunset of copper that flames behind the pine branches with a luminous concentration never before seen; the drapery of the Crucified sparkles in the darkness; Charles the Fifth passes on his horse in an atmosphere of blood. Titian's portraits no longer represent types, but people caught naturally in some attitude of daily life.

The great Venetian, like Leonardo, is also interested in pure landscape. In a picture at Buckingham Palace in London he depicts a range of wooded hills seen after a violent shower, when shadows are wet cold blue and rapid

PARIS. LOUVRE. HOLY FAMILY (LORENZO LOTTO)

DRESDEN GALLERY. THE THREE SISTERS
(JACOPO PALMA, KNOWN AS PALMA VECCHIO)

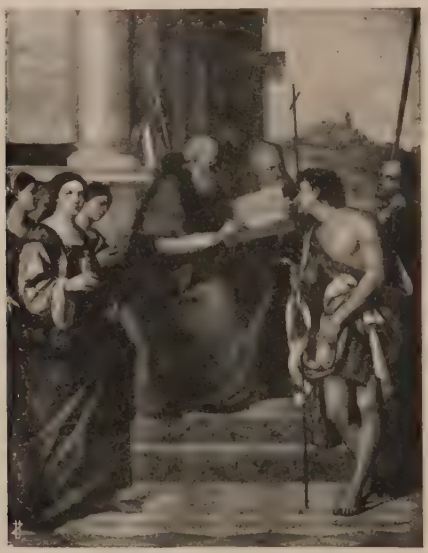
sparkling light is still in process of diffusion. Compared with Giorgione's landscapes, Titian has evolved a new style, more objective, less sentimental, and above all more harmonious. Every object is full of light and shade, losing the character of local determination and assuming a vibrant luminosity. In his last works his images lose all they had of the concrete; the Madonna in the Mond collection in the National Gallery and the dusky boy at her breast seem to soften and melt into the heavy golden atmosphere; sparkling tingling lights continually disturb the shadows; behind the *St. Sebastian* at Leningrad a chaos of lightning-flashes breaks the darkness of the night; streaks of blood stain the sky behind the *Crucifixion* at Ancona.

At the moment when Michelangelo and Titian were at work, Italy could boast of two styles of pictorial art, equally admirable, opposed in method, quality and effect. Venice was not occupied with plastic volume and line, but with sumptuous colours, lights and shades.

Jacopo Palma (1480–1528) assimilated much, both from Giorgione and Titian. He painted pictures of rich colouring, repeating the celebrated Venetian type of opulent blonde beauty, decking it with the splendour of sumptuous stuffs. One of the most famous examples of the florid charm of this type is in the picture in the Dresden Gallery — *The Three Sisters*. The outline of the metallic twigs lit with gold, of the leaves depicted within the dense mass, in the fringe of dark trees that gives relief to the fair, silken tresses of one of the young women, the flowers growing from the ground or embroidered on the rich garments show a study of detail typical of the fifteenth century. And notwithstanding the slight haze that softens and vignettes the outlines of the hills and diaphanous houses, his Cimaesque education still outweighs Giorgione's influence in the landscape and the cold flat cloudy sky. The full development of *Cinquecento* art, however, is proclaimed in the ample forms and in the luminous Titianesque transparency of flesh in *The Three Sisters*. The picture is the repetition of one and the same likeness, varied in pose and differently exhibited to the light that flows with misty softness over the tangled silken

hair, over the milky flesh and the soft thickness of the velvets. The amply draped stuffs increase the blooming fulness of these opulent roses.

Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556), manœuvring between the influences of Raphael and Titian, paints boldly and delicately, bathing his figures and landscapes with cold silver



Venice. Church of S. Crisostomo.
Altarpiece (Sebastiano del Piombo)

light. He is a very personal interpreter of the Venetian tradition. In him the mode of Upper Lombardy sometimes seems to approach the style of Venice.

In Lorenzo Lotto's picture in the Louvre, the Virgin, the saints and the angels surrounding the Babe's cradle in the flowery meadow are like a border of brilliant flowers against the dark hedge of trees. The principal line rises and falls, from the kneeling saints at the edges, from the Virgin and Elizabeth seated near the children, to the white-

robed angel that binds this garland of saints with a great central knot with the appearance of a gigantic butterfly spreading snowy wings in the cold morning light.

Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547) was a consummate assimilator; he imitated Giorgione, and was taken for him, just as on going to Rome he imitated Raphael and Michel-

VITERBO. PIETÀ (SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO)

angelo. This want of originality of course detracts from his genius.

His greatest creation in the manner of Giorgione is the altarpiece of San Crisostomo at Venice, a collection of saints in the shade of an open church against a background of cloudy sky veiled in a slight haze. A dead light is reflected on the hill and on a distant group of buildings. The figures fit in well with this romantic strip of Giorgionesque landscape; the two old men gently shaded with colour between the deep shade of the wall and the mystic light of the sky, the lean

Venice. Academy. The Parable of Dives and Lazarus
(Bonifazio Pitati)

Leningrad. Hermitage. Marriage of St. Catherine
(Parmigianino)

Baptist staggering with his long cross, the bright knight, St. George, drawn in lively recollection of the Castelfranco altarpiece. Three women saints, pearls of Venetian beauty, their black eyes encircled with shade, their soft hair curled in the same way as about the pure oval face of the sleeping Venus of Dresden, pace slowly to the left to the organ tones, so to speak, of columns and walls lit up by the sun.

Michelangelo can rightly be called the creative deity of the masterpiece of Sebastiano del Piombo's Roman period — the *Pietà* of Viterbo. And in point of fact we can only explain the sculptural prominence of the tragic group, the marble form of Christ, with severe features, accentuated by shadow, the great dilation of the ribs in the effort of the last breath, the angular structure of the wrist, in the light of a preparatory study of Michelangelo. Sebastiano's other nude figures with their academic grandiosity are very different from this sublime statue, stretched out on the shining grave-cloth with head supported by a block of stone. Just as in Michelangelo's youthful group in St. Peter's, the construction is pyramidal, here the image of Christ forms the marble base of the cliff-like structure, of which the sorrowful head of the Virgin and the angle of the white drapery on her brow compose the topmost point. Venice, Titian, dominate his tragic landscape, a confusion of tortured forms in the dusk of the evening amongst braziers of sulphur light and a velvet pall of clouds with a pale moon in their midst.

Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (1483–1539) continues Titian's art with fire and *élan*, but without the nobility of the master.

Bonifazio Pitati and Antonio Palma, though technically close to Titian, succeed in capturing gracious and gaily imaginative notes.

Bonifazio Pitati favours tranquil scenes of parties and concerts, gay with elegant costumes and the velvets of smooth Venetians — typical example, the *Parable of Dives and Lazarus* in the Academy at Venice. The picture presents to us a vast *scenario* of a gentleman's garden with marble terraces, enlivened at intervals by groups of squires and dames listen-

FERRARA. PALAZZO COSTABILI. DECORATION OF THE VAULT

ROME. BORGHESE GALLERY. CIRCE (DOSSO DOSSI)

ing to musicians, by valets pouring out wine, and huntsmen training hawks, by little figures sauntering down the avenues. The principal subject of the picture, the begging Lazarus being bitten by a dog, almost escapes our notice, such is the serenity inspired by the architectural balance created by columns and strips of coloured marbles, by the intent faces of the ladies, by the diffusion of the limpid light that gaily illumines garments, carpets and tresses. Bonifazio, a pleasing, calm raconteur, reminds one of Titian, though he changes that fiery language to a facile story-telling that sometimes brings him near to the Lombards.

In the decoration of a room on the ground floor of the Costabili palace at Ferrara, an unknown artist paints the ceiling with an imitation marble terrace, gay with plants, sumptuous hangings and delicate faces like flowers that reflect, not the jocund fiery life of Dossi's pictures, but a charming grace of look and gesture. This is a development of Mantegna's idea in the *Camera degli Sposi* at Mantua, and a prelude to Dossi's fantastic art.

Dosso Dossi (1479–1542) of Ferrara makes a departure from Giorgione's fantasies, and attains a personal range of colour all autumn golds.

Francesco Mazzola, called Parmigianino (1503–1540), gives classical characteristics to Correggio's art, and succeeds in creating elongated, elegant figures full of nervous force.

At Milan all artists follow in the footsteps of Leonardo: Giampietrino, Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, Marco d'Oggiono, Andrea Solario, Bernardino Luini (1475–1530), that typical painter of graceful Lombard women.

Cesare da Sesto (1480–1521 ?) passes from the imitation of Leonardo to that of Raphael. Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called Sodoma (1477 ?–1549), went through the same phase, but was able to find a personal style, veiling his full sweet figures in a languid bluish mist. Gaudenzio Ferrari (1484–1546) assimilated from the more celebrated masters, and created large, bright figures and rich compositions full of emphasis and imaginative decoration.

At Florence, and in all central Italy, Michelangelo and Raphael filled the horizon; the repetition of their styles,

Monteoliveto. Fresco (Sodoma)

Varallo Sesia. Fresco (G. Ferrari)

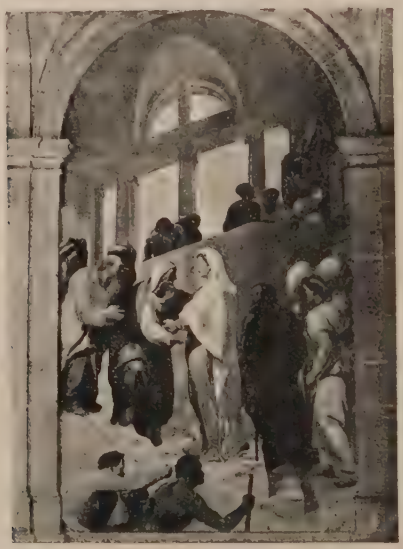
their figures, their compositions, their attitudes left little liberty for free creation except to some of the more elect artists such as Tibaldi and Pontormo. The imitators are called *manieristi;* their art may be seen chiefly in portraits in which the preoccupation with reality distracts them from the accepted formulæ.

The chief of these *manieristi* are Daniele da Volterra,

PARIS. COLLECTION JACQUEMART ANDRÉ.
PORTRAIT (PONTORMO)

Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), Taddeo e Federigo Zuccari, Pellegrino Tibaldi (1532–1592), a painter of compositions remarkable for their architectural and chromatic daring, Jacopo da Pontormo (1494–1552) in his vigorous interpretation of form, a continuer of the Florentine tradition, and Angelo Bronzino (1502–1572), often notable in his portraits for the cold elegance of his marble colours, for the firmness of his slender lines, cut as in jasper.

In the portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi, one of Bronzino's masterpieces, the noble figure rises from a chair set sideways under a scarcely noticeable niche in the background, tense and motionless, with her head to the front, with her lovely hands, one on the arm of the chair and the other on an open book, robed in silk, her whole elegant pose transfixed in vertical rigidity. The clear-cut features, the bright light



Spain. Escurial.
Fresco (Pellegrino Tibaldi)

of the eyes, the rigid neck, the neatly attired person, the oval face echo the ideal of regular beauty favoured by the painter. A proud elegance is felt in the pose, voluntarily fixed, but not without a certain energy in its stillness, and in its disciplined life of line.

Angelo Bronzino's cold aristocratic style finds its opposite in Florence in the eager vivacious art of Jacopo Carrucci, called Pontormo. The latter prefers loose sprawling figures, and he gives them a restless life, irregularity and extreme

mobility of face, thus carrying on the Florentine tradition from Sandro Botticelli and from Pollaiuolo to Michelangelo. Andrea del Sarto's coloured shadows accentuate the intensity of gaze in his portrait of the cardinal in the Borghese Gallery at Rome; the hands are sensitive to an extreme, seeming to brush and draw back from whatever they touch; the stuff of the mantle and tunic with their sharp outlines,

FLORENCE. UFFIZI. LUCREZIA PANCIATICHI (BRONZINO)

the carpet with its rounded corners, with its broken lines of embroidery, give to the portrait, as to all Pontormo's famous portraits, an expression of acute sensibility.

The soar of agile bodies and flexible branches, the gleam of sly smiles, the freshness of flitting lights and shades make of the frescoes in the royal villa of Poggio a Caiano a remarkable, though typical decoration. It is a fine piece of work in the gaiety of its country scenes, in the elegance of soaring

or interrupted lines, in its great airy spaces, in its almost sketchy touch, in the *élan* of outline, of pose, and of ruffled garments. The gay composition that transforms Vertunno's great lunette into a flowered screen is exceptional in the sixteenth century.

In the second half of the century, the period of declining inspiration — a period, nevertheless, in which new germs are

Florence. Royal Villa of Poggio a Caiano. Fresco (Pontormo)

forming — is interrupted by certain reformers who are models to the whole of Europe in the next century, that is to say, by Jacopo Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Federigo Barocci, Ludovico Carracci, Michelangelo da Caravaggio.

Jacopo Tintoretto (1518–1594) attempts to unite Michelangelo's design with Titian's colouring, and he puts his whole heart into the creation of sudden rapid movements under violent light effects. With him, movement becomes

an aim in itself. In order to obtain his magical effects of shimmering forms and lights he makes use of crowds, and he is the first to understand their manipulation, neglecting individuals and concerning himself solely with obtaining perfect fusion. The starry night of the *Paradiso* in the Doge's Palace, where all the figures shine in the dark with an astral light, the nocturnal phantasmagoria of the

VENICE. SCUOLA DI S. ROCCO. S. MARIA EGIZIANA (TINTORETTO)

procession of the *Calvary*, with its thin line of ghosts in the background like torches flickering between the velvet of the earth and of the clouds, the artificial light of the landscape in *S. Maria Egiziana*, with its reverberations of thousands of falling rays on the water, are amongst the most significant expressions of Tintoretto's superb chorography. Life and light in Tintoretto become a paroxysm of life and light. In the *St. George* in the National Gallery at London,

movement spreads in rings throughout the picture, from the elliptical vortex of light that whirls towards eternity, bursting impetuously through the thick mass of clouds, rolling them aside in billows. It is as though the hurricane, seen in the lashing trees and the gleams that turn the vitreous castle into a fantastic city of hell, is galvanizing everything

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY.
ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON
(TINTORETTO)

in the picture into movement with its frantic gusts and sinister flashes, the knight bent over his charging white horse, the slimy dragon with its hooked wings, the shore and the corpse, the princess in her bright fluttering garments, the trunks of the trees swept over the lake as though uprooted by the infernal blast of the monster. The heroic legend of St. George is turned by Tintoretto into a fable, where wild forces rage through space and catch up the characters

amongst mysterious, violent lights and the glow of enchanted woods.

Paolo Caliari, called Veronese (1520–1588), exchanges the fiery range of Titian's and Tintoretto's colours for clear, pearly tones like jewels wet with dew. Titian makes flesh glow and loosens the tawny hair of his women, and tinges his sunsets with blood; Paolo Caliari enjoys melting silvery hues in diaphanous shades, and painting precious topazes, silken whites, and carmines in a cloud of tiny dust like hoar frost. Transparent crystal melts into the tranquil clarity of his atmosphere; his ivory buildings are bathed in moonlight; a splendour of tints harmonises in unsurpassed luminous symphonies; colours shine in the air with the limpid sheen of gems. Tintoretto feels the need of drama to satisfy his craving for violence, and he creates prodigies of light and artificial forms; Paolo can express his personality, that is to say, the calm ingenuous contemplation of objective reality in the clear atmosphere surrounding his sumptuous palaces. In his great picture in the Venetian gallery, a city of the imagination, made up of rich palaces, diaphanous towers, of the mists of a moonlight evening, under a sky of glaucous silk laced with silver, extends mysteriously at the back of the highly decorated stage that reveals under three great arches the crowded feast at the house of Levi. The continually shifting poses, chiefly oblique, and the frequent angles created by these poses give a splendour as of jewels to the fine colours. Veronese's deep diffused yellows make the scene resound as with pealing organ notes.

The garments of the pensive matron personifying *Fidelity* on the ceiling of the Anticollegio in the Doge's palace at Venice shine with Paolo's precious white threaded with silver. The noble head with dark brooding eyes is shadowed with the grey silver mists of the sky that forms, veil over veil, wave over wave, an immaterial background for the magnificent figure.

The leaden shadow of the walls and the silver reflections falling from the corroded uprights, from the ram's skull, from the string of pearls, are repeated in the tones of the sky. The dog leaning on the lady's knee provides the con-

VENICE. DOGE'S PALACE. FIDELITY
(PAOLO VERONESE)

VENICE. ACADEMY. THE FEAST IN THE HOUSE OF LEVI
(PAOLO VERONESE)

ROME. BORGHESE GALLERY. TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL (SAVOLDO)

VIENNA. LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY. PIETÀ (SAVOLDO)

trast of black and white favoured by these puristic painters, a contrast between the silky jet coat touched with lunar reflections and the pearl-like splendour of the white garment, the shrillest and most dominating note in this sublime symphony of silvers.

Amongst the Brescians, Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo (1480–1547), educated in the art of Giorgione and Titian, favours nocturnal effects, Girolamo Romanino (1485–1566) brings new imaginative tendencies to painting, broken forms almost Baroque, vivacity of hue. But the characteristics of local art quickly overcome, transform, and conceal the Venetian influence. One of the greatest of Savoldo's creations is the well-known picture of the Borghese Gallery: *Tobias and the Angel.* In this picture, earth and water take on the fantastic softness of feathers in the dying light, and like gigantic feathers, the trees wave in the evening breeze, against which the angel stiffly spreads his great variegated wings. The high note of the metallic garment on the shoulders of Tobias touched by a sudden ray from the sun, changing in colour amongst the windings of the bunched folds; the cold clarity of the wings between the soft shadow of the trees and the golden curls that veil the delicate face of the angel; the capricious break in the line created by the curious pose — one arm and a wing raised, the other arm and wing lowered — of the angel who sits like an immense butterfly hung to the curtain of the greenish-golden trees; the charm of the clear-cut face, of the eyes overshadowed by the coming night bring home to us to the full the bewitching poetry of this Brescian painter.

Girolamo Savoldo in the picture that is one of the proudest possessions of Prince Liechtenstein's rich collection at Vienna, the poetic *Pietà*, touches a pure lyric note. This is an ineffable duet of whites and greys, of silvery tones, and subdued colours in the light of the clouds climbing from invisible depths. The pale body of Christ is reflected in a sad vision of eternity.

Still further removed from Venetian painting, still more frankly Lombard, is the art of Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto (1498–1555), who strives after grace and nobility

TRENTO. CASTELLO. FRESCO (ROMANINO)

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY. PORTRAIT (MORETTO)

of the human form, carefully treating outline and clarifying colour, producing tranquil harmonies of silver tones. Giambattista Moroni (1520–1578), a pupil of Moretto, in his favourite field of portrait-painting, succeeds in a profound psychological delineation of character. The Brescian school affirms its essential qualities of air, light, and tone in the works of these painters.

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY
PORTRAIT (MORETTO)

In the portrait in the National Gallery of London, the grace of the curved pose, a reflection in a quieter style of the languid poses of Lorenzo Lotto, the dreamy slowness of the gaze, the quiet of the figure with one arm leaning indolently on the marble terrace well reflect the calm atmosphere of Moretto's art and the serene spirit of his flowery images. The suggestive contrast between the rigid vertical ascent of columns and pilasters, the horizontal streaks of cloud in the background, and the curve of the agile figure, is repeated

in the contrast between the uniform coldness of the marbles and the silken sky, and the dazzling symphony of black and red in the knight's garments, the bizarre gleams of silver lights reflected from the sword hilt, the cuirass, the gems of the girdle, the spots of linen seen through the slashed sleeves. The contrast of tones, the source of pictorial values in Moretto's great altarpieces, achieves an

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY
PORTRAIT (GIAMBATTISTA MORONI)

effect all the more intense on account of the dignified tranquillity of scene. Moretto's art, however, displays its richest colours in another portrait in London, that of a gentleman in brilliant costume. The table, the silken cushions and the velvet of the chair-arm, the plumed hat and smooth glaucous coat, the snowy cascade of the ermine, and the old-gold silk decorated with purple flowers of the curtain in the background produce an effect of fabulous pomp, and transform

the portrait of a Brescian nobleman into something resembling the corner of a sumptuous bazaar. The streams of pale liquid gold, pouring from the magnificent curtain contrasting with the gayer tint of the great flowers, and the figure leaning sideways with Oriental indolence on rose lilac cushions blend together in a flowing unison. The calm face adds the colour of smooth flesh, set off by the cold reflection

FLORENCE. UFFIZI. MADONNA DEL POPOLO (BAROCCI)

of the curtain, to this silvery harmony of silks. Figure and stuffs, arabesques of embroidery and light, make this singular portrait comparable to the hem of some sumptuous banner.

Giambattista Moroni painted few altarpieces, but an immense gallery of portraits. Imperious captains and haughty provincial gentlemen, serious good-natured ladies, smart young women, fat old men troubled with weight of flesh and shortness of breath bring before our eyes Berga-

masque society of the *Cinquecento*. All these types are cleverly drawn by this great Lombard psychologist who knows how to mould line and colour to the character of his sitters.

The artist, who, in the portrait of the unknown old man of the Bergamo gallery, reveals a breadth and liberty of touch, a density of colour, almost modern in effect, and an intense and pathetic contrast of light and shade, knows how to preserve, in the portrait of a gentleman that forms, together with Moretto's portraits mentioned above, and with the triptych of Girolamo Romanino, the pick of Lombard art in the National Gallery of London, a profound harmony between the cold grey of the marbles, the crude shine of the pieces of armour, and the rigidity of the figure.

Vertical lines dominate the picture that is bordered by pilasters and soft shadows on the walls, and find their consummation in the spare figure of the captain himself, polished as the steel of the armour lying at his feet, straight as the sword hung at his flank. In that glacial leaden tone, which seems to be reflected on the marble from the cold impelling eyes of the warrior, in that sharp inflexible figure, surprising notes of colour and light appear. These shine from the veined marbles, from the sparkling steel harness, and above all from the huge trophy of multicoloured feathers on the helmet lying in a shaded niche. Along the curling length of every feather the artist varies his whole range of lights and colours.

A half-length portrait of a little girl at Bergamo stands out in a gay sparkle of jewels, laces, and brocades, from a blank slaty background that reflects a misty light playing round the curly head like a halo. Similar in its intense lights and its great richness is the portrait in the same museum of a young woman with coquettish eyes and robust features, adorned with necklaces of gold and garnets, and with ribbons and flowers embroidered with pearls. Light sparkles in every detail of the dress, and this provincial richness unfolds its heavy splendour in harmony with the stolidity of the figure. The face of the little girl above the shine of the cloth of gold covered with broad dark flowers, the dead white

of the lace, the splendour of the frilled collar, flecked with rich lights, painted with impressionistic cunning, stands out with exquisite grace, the more so for the contrast of the tender flesh, the baby furrows under the convex brow, the short bright curls, the clear flower-like eyes. The little lady with the timid preoccupied air, decked out in her best, is one of the most delicious interpretations of the infant soul in

Bologna. Pinacoteca.
Allegorical Scene (L. Carracci)

painting, and at the same time one of the most dazzling creations of the Lombard style.

Federigo Barocci (1528–1612) tried to do away with the typical plasticity of Michelangelo's copiers and based his art first on Correggio and then on a personal study of light effects, of their shading and refraction, of their play across and around oddly arranged objects. He made use of the variations of the *manieristi* to change and revivify local colours; he succeeded in finding pictorial matter of extra-

ROME. FARNESE PALACE. THE TRIUMPH OF BACCHUS AND ARIADNE (ANNIBALE CARRACCI AND PUPILS)

ROME. FARNESE PALACE (ANNIBALE CARRACCI AND PUPILS)

ordinary vivacity. He contorted figures; made flesh, garments, and atmosphere more delicate; spread rainbow colours over his canvases, almost always he spoke of joy and grace; he was the artist of little lights, of delicate, somewhat restrained and affected sentiments.

Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) based himself on Correggio to free Bolognese painting from the influence of the *manieristi;*

ROME. DORIA GALLERY. MAGDALENE (CARAVAGGIO)

he was not like Barocci, constantly inspired; but his art was more of a reflection, more learned, more careful and severe. He contributed the first examples of Bolognese monumental decoration.

Thanks to his younger cousins Agostino and Annibale, he introduced the Roman atmosphere into his art, where it was consecrated and finally became a point of departure for the pictorial decoration of the *Seicento* and *Settecento.*

Whilst the Carracci were triumphing in the official world at Rome, another artist from Lombardy, Michelangelo da Caravaggio (1569–1609), does away with the Florentine value of design as form, avoids all decorative adventures, simplifies his vision of objects by a clear demarcation between light and shade, deepens and clarifies composition. From his first works, composed in a harmony of clear colours under

PARIS. LOUVRE. THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN (CARAVAGGIO)

golden lights, and delicate veils of transparent shadow, to his last pictures, gloomy and lit by crude restricted lights, Caravaggio's art affirms more and more his fundamental principles of light and form that make him the precursor of the greatest geniuses of the European *Seicento*, from Franz Hals and Rembrandt to the primitive Velasquez.

European painting, that throughout the *Cinquecento* had strayed in a sterile imitation of Michelangelo and Raphael,

finds in this movement of Italian art, and above all in Caravaggio, a lever for progressive development. In Italy also, and especially at Naples, the Lombard artist founds a school that gives rich results. But Italy adopts the style without compunction, because she always feels need for decoration, and delights in weaving architectural backgrounds. The Carracci sum up Italian monumental decoration; Caravaggio, Spanish, Flemish, and Dutch realism. European art up to the nineteenth century follows these two tendencies.

# VII

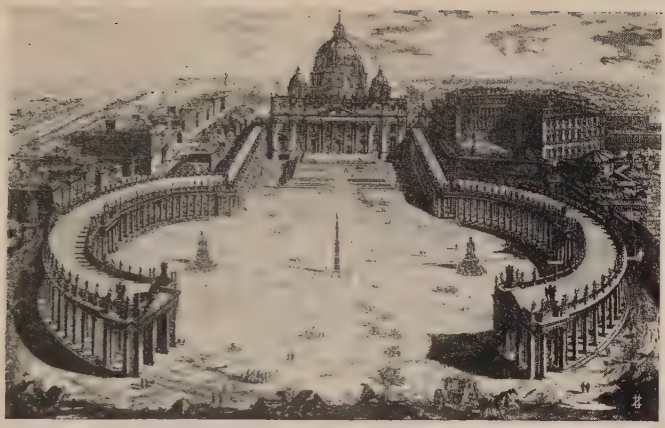
# AFTER THE RENAISSANCE

During the seventeenth century Rome witnesses the rise of the Baroque. This style confirms the triumph of colour in painting, sculpture, and architecture, and is essentially opposed to Roman classicism. Brilliant mobile colour prepares the way for a new era, and those who attempt to stem the current are unable to make any headway. Such are the cold severe Sacchi, the purest painter of sunny classical scenes, Poussin, and the artists of the Bolognese school wavering between the new sensualism and Carracci's disguised classicism. The Church has overcome the peril of the Reformation. The shadow of Luther no longer overhangs Rome, and the triumph is joyfully celebrated with a magnificence of costume, art and life. In the same way as triumphant religion by leaving her gloomy hiding-place in the Catacombs symbolised her victory and power in a profusion of gold and enamels in the new basilicas, so the Catholic Church expresses her victory over humanism, the victory of dogma over free discussion, in a language full of emphasis. A sparkling imaginative poetry of whimsical delicate images finds expression in colour at the hands of skilful *virtuosi*. In painting this colour attains a fabulous richness, it plays amongst the lights and shades of open-work façades over fluttering marbles and riotous figures.

Gian Lorenzo Bernini is the leading spirit of the century. He is an untiring improvisor and covers the new Rome with gold, precious marbles and fluttering drapery. From the time when, as a young man he carves, or, as one might say, "paints," the impressionistic head of his *David*, to the tumultuous statue of the Pamphile fountain executed in his old age, Bernini consistently expresses in marble the pictorial tendency of his century. In Sant' Andrea al Quirinale the effect is obtained by means of stucco ornaments, richly coloured marbles, and the shimmer of gold in the sunlight

ROME. THE FOUNTAIN OF THE FOUR RIVERS (BERNINI)

ROME. BORGHESE GALLERY.
DETAIL OF THE DAPHNE (BERNINI)



ROME. THE BASILICA AND THE PIAZZA OF ST. PETER'S

ROME. ST. PETER'S. MONUMENT OF URBAN VIII BARBERINI (BERNINI)

shining through the open windows in the vaulting. The sun illuminates the whole splendid scene. It adds the glory of its rays to the angelic hosts over the altar — cherubim suspended on high like golden sunset clouds, mythical figures below. There is a wonderful effect of gold on gold, and the garments and wings flash with an iridescent sparkle. The whole cupola on its white and gold supports makes one shining canopy. Shafts of sunlight from the narrow lantern illumine the riotous cherubim perched on the cornice like flocks of sparrows. The gay decoration is only interrupted for a brief moment by the pairs of naked figures in the Michelangelo manner seated on the window cornices. But it is only for a moment, seventeenth-century fantasy speedily takes flight again with the *putti* thronging round the festoons or swinging suspended in the void. The altars are fantastically adorned with alabaster, lapis lazuli and precious metals. The rosy marble columns against the blue-grey walls give rise to striking light effects. This effect is only properly understood by one of those who painted in the church, Gaulli, who succeeds in producing a daring contrast between his altarpiece and the rosy marble of the wall. In his pictures on the side-walls he produces a shifting twilight atmosphere against a background of grey marble. Lorenzo Bernini, who knew all there was to be known of the *Seicento's* whirling poses and daring stage management, could restrain himself on occasion. Thus in the monument to Urban VIII he restricts himself to a pyramidal design, and in St. Peter's colonnade this carver of twisted columns and fantastic capitals chooses the severe Doric column so that its simplicity shall bring out the grandeur of the huge work. He succeeds in achieving something worthy of Michelangelo's cupola watching over his labours from near by. He sees St. Peter's as a giant head crowned with an immense tiara; he therefore makes his colonnade in the form of two open arms, with the idea that architecture must follow the proportions of the human body.

The colonnade is no exception in the architecture of Bernini and his century. It is the highest expression of that sustained line that still distinguishes Italian buildings even

when they are enriched by elaborate façades, windows surrounded by rough stone, by cupolas of ever-increasing elevation, and by fantastically topped *campanili*. The bold decoration suits the pictorial movements of the whole, and the effect of colours, as opposed to relief, that is the foundation of Baroque architecture. Audacities are boundless; mural masses are piled one on another; the most exaggerated

ROME. CHURCH OF S. ANDREA DELLE FRATTE. THE CAMPANILE (BORROMINI)

effects of light and shade are attempted. The "marvellous" becomes the whole aim of art. The desired effect is reached by means of exaggerations of mass, irregular cornices, illusion, the splendour of marble decorations and gilded stucco. The new architects build palaces and churches on a larger scale. They make them one with their surroundings, enlarging squares, widening streets, building colonnades. In this way they succeed in creating a united effect of

undreamed-of magnificence. They impose no restraint on their theatrical world, but pass from surprise to surprise.

The Lombard Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) in his church of San Carlino and the small adjacent cloister, and in the façade of Sant' Agnese in Piazza Navona, displays his love of softly carved design, twisted spirals, sharp projections and irregular cornices. He it is who gives us the first

Rome. Church of S. Carlino alle Quattro Fontane (Borromini)

examples of contorted spandrels and hollow mouldings. Amongst his seventeenth-century decorations are wonderful bulbous bannisters and ornaments of triune burning candlesticks that twine up together in a rapid spiral. Borromini's buildings prove him to be one of the most daring architectural innovators of the seventeenth century. His twisting line, as far removed as can be from the Roman ideal, glides with Oriental grace, and breaks into Gothic pinnacles and

Genoa. Palace of the Università
(Bartolomeo Bianco, 1623)

Stupinigi. The Castello (Juvara)

sharp angles. Bernini loves the glitter of lights and the effect of the sun on gold and coloured marbles; the Lombard artist allows his lights only to filter into his buildings where they are lost in the shifting shadows, in the mazes of the honeycombed vaulting, amongst the wall-columns and vanishing cornices. He breaks every link with the classical tradition in his fantasies of arabesques and colours. Unlike Bernini, he does not have recourse to precious marbles, gold and bronze; he obtains his colour with undulating surfaces, with his cornices, with a complicated play of lights in shadow. He carries on the Lombard tradition as Bernini carries on the Roman.

Rainaldi is swept away by the seventeenth-century passion for strong light and shade effects. In his façade of Santa Maria in Campitelli he obtains a complicated *chiaroscuro*, quite unlike the deep Roman shadows of the *Cinquecento*, by means of projections and recessions complicated by groups of columns.

Pietro da Cortona is far removed from the audacities of Bernini and Borromini. His churches of SS. Luca and Martina, and Santa Maria della Pace are remarkable for harmoniously advancing and retreating masses that drown the broken seventeenth-century lines with a smooth impetuous rhythm that recalls Correggio's paintings.

The style of architecture and sculpture that we call Baroque is evolved in Rome, that can truly be called the artistic capital of the *Seicento*. Carlo Maderna (1556–1639) and Cosimo Fasanga (1591–1678) are able interpreters of the style in Rome; Baccio di Bartolomeo Bianco (1604–1656) at Genoa, Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) and Baldassare Longhena (1604–1682) at Venice; Filippo Juvara (1685–1735) at Turin, and Bartolomeo Provaglia at Bologna. Even after the Rococo style, imported from abroad, has inspired Gabriele Valvassori to build the magnificent Doria palace, the Baroque continues throughout the eighteenth century, and can be admired in the great stairway of the Trinità dei Monti (1721–1725).

Rococo does not take root in Italy, in fact it is accepted less than the Gothic five centuries before. After the

ROME. CHURCH OF SANTA CECILIA.
STATUE OF S. CECILIA (MADERNO)

ROME. CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO A RIPA.
STATUE OF THE BLESSED LUDOVICA ALBERTONI (BERNINI)

emphasis of the Baroque has subsided, architects return to an imitation of classic forms, presented to them artificially by literature and archæology. And up to our own days there has been a continual wavering between pure classicism and the Baroque.

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An extraordinary ability in the working of marbles had

ROME. S. M. DELLA VITTORIA.
S. TERESA (BERNINI)

become a common inheritance after Michelangelo and his imitators. The new generation of sculptors made use of it to produce pictorial effects, to stress contrasts of light and shade, and with a mere hint of detail, to obtain the illusion of flesh and materials.

Before Italian sculpture was dominated by the great Bernini, the two most skilful craftsmen in marble were Stefano Maderno (1571–1636) and Alessandro Algardi (1602–1653).

Bernini, architect and sculptor at one and the same time, gives himself up to the exaggerations and superficiality of his day. As we have already stated, he had the greatest ability in arranging groups, and he was a consummate theatrical producer. His skill in these directions may be studied in his fantastic Roman fountains, in the canopy in St. Peter's with its immense spiral columns, and in the

ROME. PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORI.
INNOCENT X (ALGARDI)

saint's golden throne, and its host of angels disporting themselves in every possible attitude amongst the clouds. His statues twist and twine nervously in their crumpled billowing draperies. Santa Teresa in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria seems to melt in languor amongst the clouds; her features are overshadowed as though she were dying. Bernini borrowed colour and passion for his sculptures from the sister art of painting. From his early youth

FLORENCE. PITTI GALLERY. ST. PETER RAISING TABITHA
(GUERCINO)

GENOA. CHURCH OF S. AMBROGIO. ASSUMPTION
(GUIDO RENI)

he succeeded in giving marble the softness of flesh, the splendour of silks, or the opaqueness of wool. He traced spirals within the pupils to create a play of light. His crumpled drapery flutters in all directions with a wealth of fictitious lights and shades. The marble seems to lose its very nature. Lorenzo Bernini gives Rome a new magnificence. He fills the churches with his exuberant decoration, the gorgeous palaces and sepulchral monuments with a wealth of bronze, marble, and gold. With him the *cibori*, once quite small and unimportant constructions, become great bizarre canopies with figures.

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Bolognese painting of the seventeenth century is dominated by the Carracci. Guido Reni (1575–1642) in his clear, chalky pictures exalts an ideal of human nobility, feminine grace and sensitive religious feeling. Domenichino (1581–1641) is a sincere and inspired artist, but not a great painter; Francesco Albani (1578–1660) works with rosy transparencies and clear, faint lights. Alessandro Tiarini (1577–1668) is notable for his rendering of silken sheens. Gian Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino (1591–1666), is a brilliant colourist, who sometimes deals in crude tints and makes his figures stand out with splashes of light. Like the followers of Caravaggio, he paints gloomy backgrounds full of reflected lights, but he departs from this style in his typical Emilian use of silvery lights and softly vignetted flesh and materials.

Besides the Bolognese artists, the best known representatives of seventeenth-century painting in Central Italy are the decorative Giovanni Lanfranco (1580–1647) of Parma, the sweet artificial Sassoferrato (1605–1685) of the Marches; Carlo Dolci (1616–1686), a Florentine painter of devout languid figures; Andrea Sacchi of Rome (1600–1661) and Carlo Maratta (1625–1713).

Only a very faint glimmer of Caravaggio's style reaches this field of Italian painting, and this only indirectly through Guercino and Lanfranco. Meanwhile, elsewhere, schools inspired by the great Lombard are springing up, vigorously engaged in a search after realism.

In the footsteps of Caravaggio the greatest school of

FLORENCE. PITTI GALLERY. THE WOOD OF THE PHILOSOPHERS (SALVATOR ROSA)

ROME. PALAZZO PALLAVICINI. SOPHONISBA (MATTIA PRETI)

seventeenth-century Italian painting springs up at Naples. One of its chief representatives is Giovanni Battista Caracciolo, a powerful painter and an acute interpreter of the Lombard master until he comes under the influence of the style of the Carracci that has begun to invade Naples. Another representative of this school is Mattia Preti, who originally founds his art on Caravaggio, but is gradually fascinated by Venice and Paolo Veronese. He develops Merisi's plan of always grouping his figures along a horizontal axis, and giving his scene height, breadth and depth with *chiaroscuro* and innumerable intersecting planes. The sharp angles of his slanting figures tend to accentuate his high lights, his colours change in quality and depth as his figures are more or less turned to the source of light; his great canvases are full of the contrasts of attitude to light. His bodies are created by the power of light that evokes them from the misty background. A pathos unknown to Caravaggio is born from this blending of figures and bright surfaces.

Side by side with these two great artists lives Salvator Rosa, who, with Carracci, figures among the greatest painters of classical landscape; the soft romantic Cavallino and the prolific Luca Giordano. The latter, drawing his colours from the Venetian source, sometimes bathes his pictures in delicate transparency as in his *Disputa*, in the National Gallery at Rome, and sometimes floods them with the gold and fire of a Titian.

Gregorio Deferrari decorates the palaces of Genoa with figures fluttering amongst bunches of grapes and watered silks over the milky skies of vaulting rising from flowery stucco cornices. This precious style, at first based on the architectural illusions of the classical Bolognese school, foreshadows the Rococo. Luca Cambiaso (1527–1585) is an artist of synthetic form in his black and white sketches and water-colours that are to be met with all over Italy. The same synthetic construction is to be seen in the frescoes of the Lercari Chapel, but here he is rather tending towards a graceful mannerism. Benedetto Castiglione feels the influence of Titian in his youthful works. The luminous

ROME. GALLERIA NAZIONALE. CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS (LUCA GIORDANO)

NAPLES. COLL. WENNER. THE ADULTERESS (B. CAVALLINO)

Orazio Deferrari; Bernardo Strozzi, a vigorous portrait-painter, at the same time a creator of clear green interior lights; Alessandro Magnasco, a painter of feverish gloomy sketches, exalt the city of Genoa to a flourishing seat of seventeenth-century Italian painting. The glory of the *Seicento* at Milan is summed up in the names of Cerano and Cairo.

The Roman-born Domenico Feti feels the passion for

Vienna. Hofmuseum. The Guitar Player (Bernardo Strozzi)

rich colouring and constructive illuminating brush-strokes more than any other artist in Rome. The *Flight into Egypt* in the Vienna Gallery, the *Vita Campestre* in the Borenius collection at London, the *Parables*, scattered about the museums of Europe, the *Sleeping Child* in the National Gallery at Budapest are perfect examples of this painter's sumptuous colouring. His soft luminous figures have their being in scenes of fabulous magnificence. A sun-touched

kerchief on the head of a girl spinning; the light that seems to squeeze gold from a tree like a huge bunch of plumes; the mist that covers with a golden veil the fields ploughed by a peasant; these are typical examples of the way this artist lends the humblest objects an incomparable pictorial richness. It is precisely this quality that sometimes makes Feti surprisingly akin to the Dutch masters

Vienna. Hofmuseum. Artemisia
(Domenico Feti)

of the seventeenth century; compare his *Artemisia* in the Hofmuseum of Vienna.

Decorators take pride of place by the work of Luca Giordano (1632–1705) at Naples, Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (1596–1669), Gian Battista Gaulli, called Il Baciccio (1639–1709), and Andrea Pozzi (1642–1709) at Rome, Mancini at Perugia (1705–1758) and Marcantonio Franceschini at Bologna (1648–1729). In the fifteenth century the decoration of domes and vaulting is chiefly architectural.

Dresden Gallery. The Confirmation
(G. Maria Crespi)

Milan. Chiesa della Passione. The Supper of S. Carlo
Borromeo (D. Crespi)

ROME. S. IGNAZIO. THE COMING INTO PARADISE OF S. IGNAZIO (PADRE POZZI)

ROME. CHIESA DEL GESÙ. FRESCO REPRESENTING THE TRIUMPH OF THE NAME OF JESUS (BACICCIO)

Correggio is the first to balance his figures in space-like clouds of shaded light. It remains for seventeenth-century decorators skilfully to combine architecture and pictorial liberty. They present the illusion of a space so infinite that it makes one dizzy to think of the immense difficulties of design and perspective that they can overcome. The vaulting of the churches of the Gesù and Sant' Ignazio at Rome, and the canvases and mural paintings of Francesco de Mura, Solimeni and Corrado Giacquinto at Naples and in Spain, and the whole decoration of the "Santa" at Bologna are masterpieces of this particular art.

Gian Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) breaks away from this style, and enlivens prevailing eighteenth-century decoration with unexpected silver light. His fame spreads through Europe from Madrid to Würzburg. Piazzetta is his contemporary, but this brilliant colourist is really a belated follower of Caravaggio.

French art of the eighteenth century is profoundly influenced by the paintings of Tiepolo, and by the delicate pastels of Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757).

At the same time Pietro Longhi (1702–1785) depicts the habits of the aristocracy and the people of Venice in the spirit of Goldoni's comedies. Antonio Canale, called Canaletto (1697–1767), paints the canals, churches, and *campi* of Venice with a restrained accuracy that reveals his infinite love of the city of his fathers. Francesco Guardi (1712–1793) paints sea-scapes and sea-storms, adapting reality to his needs with quite a modern impressionism. In the *Laguna* in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum at Milan, the refraction of light between earth and sky veiled with evening mist makes the picture the most suggestive interpretation of Venetian twilight we have. Two distant parallel lines — the gondola sliding darkly across the foreground, dripping light from its shining metal prow, from the clothes of the gondolier, from the open cabin-door; the line of buildings in the distance suspended between sea and sky like a dusky necklace of pearls — are lit up with a phosphorescent glow reflected tremulously over the lovely, silent lagoon. Tiny streaks of light touching the water at measured intervals,

MILAN. BRERA. THE DENTIST
(PIETRO LONGHI)

VENICE. ACADEMY. L'INDOVINA
(G. P. PIAZZETTA)

VENICE. PALAZZO LABIA. TIME (G. TIEPOLO)

VENICE. PALAZZO LABIA. VICTORY (G. TIEPOLO)

little splashes of brightness on the distant gondolas, the reflection of houses in the tranquil water are the only incidents to break the profound slumber of sea and sky.

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In the eighteenth century tiny freakish ornamentation takes the place of the complication of masses. In France, a new style develops, the Rococo. We must look for its beginnings in Italy, in Rome herself, that is to say, in the airy irregular compositions of Baciccio and in Borromini's winding cornices and complicated mouldings. In Rome, however, Rococo does not take root, for the Eternal City still tenaciously preserves a fondness for the grand and the magnificent. Gabriele Valvassori's Doria palace is an isolated example of the style. All at once the classical ideal forces its way through the throng of *cicisbei;* the serious Mengs once again extols the principles of the Carracci; Winkelmann points out for general admiration the ancient culture coming to light in Pompeii and Herculaneum. He drafts laws for the new taste. After Piranesi's romantic adventures, there suddenly appears on the scene a genius from Venice destined to express the aspirations of the new age and to create a new Italian sculpture — Antonio Canova (1757–1822). Beginning as a *settecentista*, he yet succeeds in expressing delicate marble flesh, in some of his early works, with a reserve unknown to Bernini. Whilst contemporary art seems to lead to the destruction of bodies, Canova gives his figures logical rhythmic form. His refined intellectualism finds expression in the classical conception of his monuments and in his clever experiments, in the production of shade effects, melting transitions, and subtleties of form.

At a time when sculpture tends to produce bodies of cotton wool or porcelain, Canova in his cold, graceful works, by changing his technique to suit the appearance of what he is portraying, marks the beginning of a new era.

The Ganganelli monument is a victory of the classical spirit in Rome. A premeditated solidity of construction, carefully worked surfaces that give transparency and softness to the marble, succeeds the theatrical effects and

Florence. Uffizi. The Doge's Palace of Venice
(Canaletto)

Milan. Museum Poldi Pezzoli. View of the Lagoon
(Guardi)

excited improvisation of the Baroque. The irregularities and broken lines that almost destroyed all sense of form at the end of the *Seicento*, the orgy of frenzied movement, suddenly disappear. Lines are linked together in uninterrupted continuity; the human body is designed in classical purity under the soft draperies; the figures seem overcome with weariness and droop in pathetic torpor. The base of the Ganganelli sepulchre is composed of two marble plinths; the simple box-like sarcophagus, and the high stand under the ancient throne form a stairway of finely proportioned steps. To Rome with her newly awakened love for the antique this work appears miraculous. Here are no convulsed seventeenth-century attitudes, no *macabre* figures; the effect of grief and mourning is produced by the open space of the sepulchre and the restrained melancholy of the two figures bending towards the tomb.

In the monument of Clement XIII the marble seems to have lent itself to the design like wax. The garments are soft and flowing; the tiny fluting of the satin cushion and the embroideries of the cloak have a silvery sheen; the air seems to blow through the feathery hair of the old Pope; the animals' nostrils seem damp. Chisels, drills and gauges, all the sculptors' tools vie with each other in giving reality to the marble, whatever effect is attempted.

Canova's intellectualism makes it possible for him to conceive the poetic praying figure of the Pope, and the exaltation of the lifeless face. The old man's hands barely clasped, and the trembling head, seem to accompany the painful murmur of the prayer with a pathetic tremor. With these two sepulchres Antonio Canova creates the first classical example in Rome of the modern tomb. Even more exemplary is the great monument to Maria Cristina in Vienna. In this work mourning figures linked by garlands of roses file across the steps to the base and enter with bowed heads, bearing flickering torches into the dark tomb.

Canova invents innumerable classical designs for his monuments; pyramids, urns, and columns. His classical spirit and Arcadian fancy is, perhaps, best seen in his groups of statuary scattered over Italy and Europe: Venus

and Adonis in a mist of creepers; Eros and Psyche watching a butterfly, carved with charming rhythm; Psyche lying in the arms of Love; Hebe tripping down a slope, her garments fluttering in the spring breeze behind her; the Cymbal player moving in ivy-like undulation with slender arms supporting her delicate head. There is a fluid continuity of line, soft rhythm of pose, extreme delicacy of

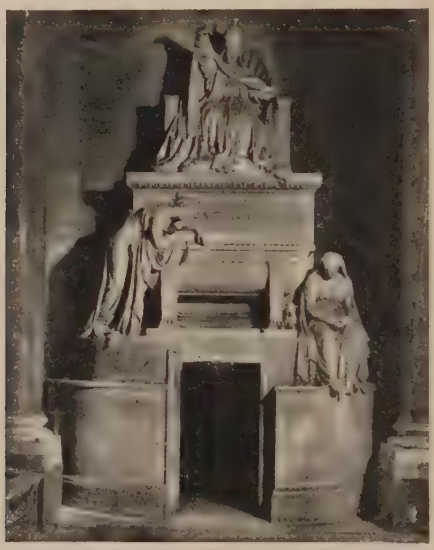
ROME. CHURCH OF S. PETER. THE POPE CLEMENT XIII (CANOVA)

surface, and melting tenderness of silky flesh in these works. At the rising of this new star on the horizon Rome welcomes the return of her ancient traditions and classical rhythm, and at the same time the decline of seventeenth-century Baroque extravagance.

When Canova's school is lost in academic mannerisms it yields the field to the Romantics. Lorenzo Bartolini (1777–1850), Giovanni Dupré (1817–1882) and Vincenzo Vela

(1822–1891) are the principal representatives of this tendency. Romanticism prepares the way for the impressionism and synthesis of to-day.

Post-Canovian formality invades painting — Camuccini, Appiani and Sabatelli, however, have some constructive excellence. But it is a brief period; the generation of the Romantics returns to a love of colour. It has not



Rome. Church of the SS. Apostoli. Ganganelli Monument (Canova)

much to show owing to the general diffusion of academic art, but it is gloriously represented at Naples by Domenico Morelli (1826–1901) and in Lombardy by Tranquillo Cremona (1837–1878) and Giovanni Segantini (1858–1899). Painting, originally a compromise between form and colour, is now concerned with the interpretation of simultaneous light and shade, that is to say, with impressionism. And the day of impressionism is already over.

Now, after many attempts, the Italian arts, conscious of their great history, take their place with the finest productions at international exhibitions. They mirror both Italy of the Communes, and the modern nation that was in the vanguard of all culture in the Renaissance. In the *Cinquecento* exuberant Italian art spread throughout Europe; and even when in the next century other countries, such as Flanders and Spain, had found their own expression, Rome is the world centre for art. Even up to the beginning of the last century Italian art determined taste and exercised a profound and universal civilising influence.

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